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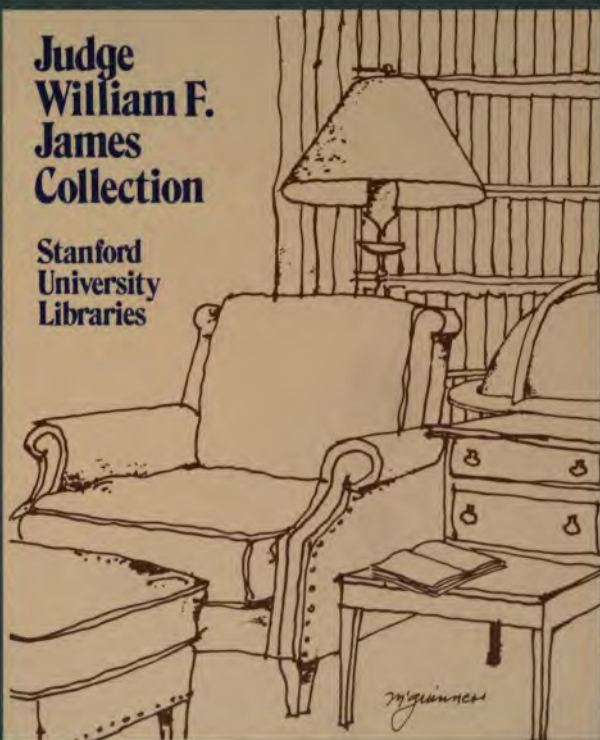
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**SIR JOHN FROISSART'S  
CHRONICLES**

OF

**ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,**

AND THE

**ADJOINING COUNTRIES,**

**FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.  
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.**

**NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,  
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.**

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**BY THOMAS JOHNES.**

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*Who so shall telle a tale after a man,  
He mooste reherse, as neigher as ever he can,  
Cherich worde, if it be in his charge,  
All speke he neher so smole and so large;  
Or elles he mooste tellen his tale untreme,  
Or seinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.*

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

**THE THIRD EDITION.**

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,  
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,  
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,  
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

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THE  
CHRONICLES  
OF  
*ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.*

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CHAP. I.

THE AMBASSADORS FROM PORTUGAL RETURN  
WITH SATISFACTORY ANSWERS.—THE DUKE  
OF LANCASTER EMBARKS ON AN EXPEDITION  
TO RECOVER CASTILLE.

NOT long after this conversation, the duke of Lancaster had a conference with his brother, the earl of Cambridge, on the affairs of Castille and Portugal. The earl, who had been in the latter country upwards of a year, said, that during the reign of don Ferdinand, when he was in Portugal, the canon de Roberfac, and sir William Windfor and other knights whom he had led thither, had told him of the murmurs of the common people relative to the succession, and on this account had pressed him to carry away his son. 'In God's name,' replied the duke, 'the Portuguese squire has informed me most circumstantially of all this matter; and we cannot gain a more convenient entrance to Castille than through Portugal. Arragon is too distant; and besides, the king of Arragon has always been more attached to France than to us. It is not right, since Portugal asks from us assistance, it should be refused.'

A parliament was held at Westminster on this subject, when it was determined that the duke of Lancaster should have, at the public expense, a thousand or twelve hundred lances, all chosen men, two thousand archers and one thousand lusty varlets, and that they should receive half a year's pay in advance. The king's uncles were well satisfied with this grant: in particular, the duke of Lancaster, to whom, as the matter more nearly concerned him, the command of this army was given.

To expedite the ambassadors return to Portugal, who were impatient to set out, the king of England wrote very affectionate letters to the king of Portugal, declaring the strict union and intelligence he wished to subsist between the subjects of each kingdom. He made also magnificent presents to the grand master of St. James and Lawrence Fongasse, who were continually with the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge. The day on which they took leave of the king and his council, they dined with the duke of Lancaster and his brother, and had liberty to depart. I believe the duke mentioned in his letters to the king of Portugal, as well as to the ambassadors, his wish that seven galleys, and from eighteen to twenty large vessels might be sent from Portugal to the port of Bristol, on the confines of Wales, where the duke and his army would embark.

The ambassadors, having promised this should be done, took leave and set out for South-  
where their vessel was waiting for  
them.

them. Having embarked, they put to sea with a favourable wind, and, crossing the Spanish main, arrived in five days at Oporto, where fortunately the king was, and much rejoiced at their return.

They related to the king all they had seen and heard in England, regarding king Richard and his uncles, and, in confirmation, delivered letters from them. The king of Portugal, impatient for the aid of the English to retaliate on the Spaniards, did not delay calling his council, when it was resolved, that don Alphonso Vietat, high admiral of Portugal, should get ready seven galleys and eighteen ships to sail to England, and bring back the duke of Lancaster and his army. Don Alphonso was soon ready, and, setting sail from Oporto with favourable winds, arrived in six days at Bristol, where he anchored.

The duke was much rejoiced on hearing of his arrival, for he was at the time in Wales, where the king and all his court were: he hastened his preparations, as his knights, squires and archers were near Bristol, he having provided at Bristol two hundred vessels to transport them, under convoy of the Portuguese fleet, to the continent. It was intended by the duke that his duchess and daughters should accompany him to Castille and Portugal, where he proposed nobly marrying them; for he wished not to return very soon, and with reason, as he perceived affairs in England were badly managed, and the young king governed by wicked

counfellors. This made him the more desirous of quitting the country.

Before his embarkation, and in the presence of his brothers, he appointed his son, Henry earl of Derby, his lieutenant for whatever concerned him during his absence, and chose for him a set of able advisers. This Henry was a young and handsome knight, son of the lady Blanche first duchess of Lancaster. I never saw two such noble dames, so good, liberal, and courteous, as this lady and the late queen of England, nor ever shall, were I to live a thousand years, which is impossible.

When the duke of Lancaster had arranged his affairs in England, and had taken leave of the king and his brothers, he came to Bristol, where he tarried fifteen days, until his horses to the amount of more than two thousand, and his stores were safely embarked, with ample provision of hay, straw, oats, and fresh water.

The duke then entered a handsome galley, having, beside it, a large vessel for his household and the duchess, who had consented, with great courage, to accompany him on this expedition; for she expected, on her arrival in her native country, or at least before her return, to be queen of Castille. She had with her her own daughter Catharine, and two other daughters of the duke by his former marriage, called Isabella and Philippa. Isabella\* was married to sir  
John

---

\* Her name was Elizabeth. Sir John Holland was created earl

John Holland, constable of the army. The marshal of the host, sir Thomas Moreaux, was also married to another daughter of the duke of Lancaster, but she was a bastard, and mother to the lady Morielle, Demoiselle Marie de St. Hilaire de Hauman \*. The lord Percy was admiral of the fleet.

Among the knights who followed the duke of Lancaster, were sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Lucy, sir Henry Beaumont, the lord de Pomiers, sir Richard Burley, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, sir William Windfor, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Hugh Despenser, the lord Willoughby, the lord Bradeston, sir William Farington, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Worcester, sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Lewis Rochester, sir John Sounder, sir Philip Tickel, sir Robert Clinton, sir Hugh Calverley, David Holgrave, Thomas Allery, Hobequin Beaucester, and many others with pennons, without including the banners. There were more than one thousand lances of knights, squires, and good men at arms; two

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earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter. She was, after his death, married to sir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, but had no issue by him. By sir John Holland she had a son (John) who succeeded his father.

\* I cannot explain who this lady is: nor can I find any where, but in Froissart, mention made of this natural daughter of John of Gaunt, nor of the marriage with sir Thomas Moreaux.

Stowe says, sir Richard Burghley was constable of the duke's army, and after him sir Thomas de la Moleneaux.

thousand

thousand archers, and one thousand stout varlets.

It was the month of May when they embarked; and they had the usual fine weather of that pleasant season. They coasted the isles of Wight and Guernsey, so that they were distinctly seen from the Norman shores; and a fine sight it was, for there were upwards of two hundred sail. It was delightful to observe the galleys, which had men at arms on board, coast the shores in search of adventures, as they had heard the French fleet was at sea. In truth, they were out before they shewed themselves on the coasts of Carentan; but, when they perceived them approaching, they retired into the port of Havre.

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## CHAP. II.

MANY FRENCH KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES OFFER  
THEIR SERVICES TO THE KING OF CASTILLE.

**N**OTHING happens but what is known, more particularly if relating to deeds of arms; for knights and squires willingly converse on such topics. The news of the defeat of the king of Castille at Aljubarota was soon spread abroad, and was known in France; for those who had lost their friends or relations loudly lamented them. Castille alone offered a field for deeds of arms, as it was rumoured the duke of Lancaster, to support his claim on that crown, had assembled a large army, and would march thither

thither or to Portugal, and without doubt there would be many battles.

Some knights and squires, of the interior part of France, consulted together on this, and which was the best road to Castille. Several were of opinion, to march by land, to avoid the dangers of the sea, and of falling into the hands of the English fleet; but others said, the road by land was long, and the intentions of the king of Navarre were not quite clear; for he was not much attached to France: that nation, he said, had robbed him of his lands in Normandy; but I know not if his complaints were just. They were doubtful what road to take; for, should they go round by Arragon, they would never arrive at their journey's end. At length they resolved to embark from la Rochelle, where they freighted eighteen vessels with their baggage and stores, but did not take many horses with them.

When all was ready, and the wind favourable, they put to sea, and made for the coast of Bayonne; for that was their line of direction. They were three hundred knights and squires who had volunteered on this expedition. Among them were the lord de Courfy, sir John Handoye, the viscount de la Verliere, sir Peter de Vellamines, sir Guy le Baveux, sir John de Châtelmorant, the lord de St. Liger, sir James de Fougères, the lord de Bellanes, sir Tristan de Langurant, the lord Barrois des Barres, with many more.

They arrived without accident, in the port of St. Andero, in Biscay, on the 4th day of May

1386, where they rested themselves two days, and had their horses and baggage disembarked. When they had laden their horses, they inquired where they could find the king of Castille, and were told that he was then at Burgos, holding a parliament on the affairs of the nation. On leaving St. Andero they followed the road to Burgos, and waited on the king, who was truly glad to see them, and asked the news from France, and which way they had come.

They replied, 'By sea from la Rochelle,' and that it was rumoured in France the duke of Lancaster had raised a very large force of men at arms and archers, to lead into Castille or Portugal; that it was not known where he intended to land, but that the king of Portugal had sent to him many ships and galleys.

The king, on hearing this, became pensive, although it was what he expected, and did not at this meeting display his courage; for he perceived, from every appearance, he should have a severe war made on him. However, he entertained the knights very handsomely, and thanked them much for coming. Addressing himself to sir Robert de Braquemont, and his brother, sir John de Braquemont, he said, 'I desired you both, when you left me last year, that on your return, you would bring me from Paris some tennis balls, that we might amuse ourselves at that game; but I believe it would have been better I had desired you to bring good helmets and armour; for I fancy we shall soon have much need of them.'

'Sire,'

‘Sire,’ replied the lord de Braquemont, ‘we have brought both; for we can neither fight nor play continually.’ In truth, the king of Castille shewed great attention to these knights, feasted them well, and liberally supplied them with every thing they wanted. Some of them having vows to perform, wished to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Saint Jago, since they were in the country; and all of them set out in company, having armed themselves as if they were going to battle: it was fortunate for them they had done so, and whoever had advised it shewed great prudence, as you will see hereafter; but I must now return to the duke of Lancaster and his fleet, whom we left coasting Normandy.

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### CHAP. III.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IN HIS VOYAGE TO CASTILLE, ATTACKS THE FRENCH BEFORE BREST, AND FORCES THEM TO RAISE THE BLOCKADE.

**J**UST as pilgrim falcons, who have long rested hungry on their perch, are desirous of flight in search of prey, (if I may use the comparison) were those English knight and squires impatient to try their arms in the field. As they coasted Normandy, they said to each other,— ‘Why do not we disembark in some of these Norman ports, where we shall meet with knights ready to offer us combat?’ At last these  
speeches

speeches reached the ears of the duke, who knew well, before he left England, that sir John de Malestroit, the lord de Malestroit, the lord de Cambor, Morfonace, with a number of other knights and squires from Brittany, had blockaded Brest, under the command of the constable; so that when he learnt the eagerness his knights expressed for some deeds of arms, he ordered his admiral, the lord Thomas Percy, and his constable, lord John Holland, to steer the fleet towards Brittany, for he wished to visit the castle of Brest and his countrymen who were within it.

This order gave great joy to the English; and don Alphonso Vietat, who was admiral in chief, and well acquainted with these dangerous seas, took the lead, for the rest of the fleet to follow him. The weather was now delightful, and the sea so calm, it was a pleasure to be on it: the fleet advanced with an easy sail, and arrived at the mouth of Brest harbour, where waiting for the tide, they entered it in safety. The clarions and trumpets sounded sweetly from the barges and the castle. Sir John de Malestroit and his companions were seated at table, when the news was brought them of the arrival of the English fleet: they instantly leaped up and armed themselves. They knew, that as soon as the duke of Lancaster had landed, they should have an engagement; for the English were come to raise the blockade.

They were not long in making themselves ready, and amounted to about three hundred  
men

men at arms, knights and squires. The English were rejoiced at finding themselves in Brest harbour, and that the Bretons were still guarding their blockhouse, for they were aware an engagement must ensue, and they were thirsty for battle.

The duke of Lancaster and his men landed as near as possible to the castle, but left their horses and stores on board their ships. The ladies, however, went on shore to repose themselves. The first day they made no attack, only marched out of their quarters, when some of the lords fixed their tents and pavilions on the harbour side and near the castle, where they remained that day and the following night. On the morrow, the constable and marshal's trumpets sounded, for the army to make ready for an assault. When all were armed, they marched in good array towards the castle and blockhouse which had been raised in front of it. This was so solidly built, it would have lasted nine or ten years; for it was surrounded with ditches, and had walls, towers and gates of strong timber.

The English knights, on their arrival, began to skirmish gallantly at the barriers of the blockhouse, and attempt to win them. The knights and squires within, and there were numbers of good ones, vigorously defended themselves; and, in order to gain more room, they took away the pallisades, which was foolish enough, but they trusted to their skill and valour. Many were the fine deeds of arms and much pushing with lances, and those fared the best who could  
the

the longest hold their wind. The English, being so numerous, gave the Bretons full employment, and, by dint of courage, won the barriers: within the court of the blockhouse were upwards of one hundred, so that the Bretons were on the point of losing every thing.

Sir John de Malestroit and the viscount de Cambor, seeing this, shouted their cry, and said, 'How, gentlemen, shall we be thus overcome? Advance, advance, and push with vigour, for there must be no sham fighting here: we have only the choice of death or victory.'

Upon this they rallied, and, placing the ends of their lances in the ground, made an obstinate resistance to those who had driven them within the barriers. Hard blows were given on each side; but the English, whether they would or not, were forced to retire, and were beaten back out of the court, so that during the day they could not regain it.

On the other side of the blockhouse was a stone tower situated on a rock, which the Bretons had garrisoned. A severe attack was made on it by the English, for while the fight was going on at the barriers, they had crossed a narrow ditch, and, with pick-axes, advanced up to the walls where they began to work and force out the stones. Those within defended themselves well with what they could lay hands on, but the archers shot so sharply that none dared shew themselves unless strongly shielded.

The pick-axe men continued their work, until the tower, which leaned much on that side (for they had undermined the foundation) opened

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ed in two parts. The garrison saved themselves in the ruins of what remained, for one half fell to the ground. On this, the English set up a grand shouting; but, it being now late, the trumpets sounded the retreat, as they imagined they had done enough for one day. When they marched away, they said to the Bretons, 'Gentlemen, keep a good watch to night, and stay where you are, for to-morrow we will visit you again: you see well what situation you are in, and that you have nothing to shelter you from us.'

It was fully the intention of the English to return the next day and conquer the blockhouse with its garrison, for it was in their power; and in this idea they passed the night comfortably, as they had wherewithal so to do. There is an old saying, that 'John is as wise as his master,' which I repeat, because if the English are subtle in war, the Bretons match them; for they were equally clear sighted as to what was to their advantage, and what not. They saw, if they wished to avoid death or captivity, there was no time to be lost in packing up their baggage and leaving the blockhouse. They instantly made themselves ready, and, mounting their horses, rode towards Hennebont, which was four leagues distant. They acted wisely; for they were not afraid of a pursuit, as the English had not disembarked any of their horses.

Sir John de Malestroit and his companions arrived safely in Hennebont, the gates of which they

they found open, without any suspicion of the English being so near.

On the morrow, the trumpets sounded for a renewal of the attack, and they were anxious to make up for their forced retreat of the preceding day; but news was brought that the Bretons had evacuated the blockhouse. The English repented sorely not having laid an ambush, to have prevented the loss of their prey. The lords sent varlets to destroy the blockhouse, and set it on fire. Thus was the siege of Brest raised by the duke of Lancaster. The duke, sir John Holland and some of the other knights, went into the castle of Brest, carrying the ladies with them, where they had refreshments, and then returned to their quarters. On the morrow, being the third day, they had their vessels watered; and on the ensuing day they embarked, and continued their voyage.

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#### CHAP. IV.

**THE DUKE OF LANCASTER ARRIVES AT CORUNNA IN GALICIA.—THE FRENCH, IN THE SERVICE OF SPAIN, ENTER THE CASTLE TO OPPOSE HIM.—THEY SHORTLY AFTER DEFEAT A PARTY OF HIS FORAGERS.**

**B**EFORE the duke sailed from Brest, he held a council to determine whether they should steer to Lisbon, Oporto or Corunna. To this council

the Portuguese admiral and his captains were called, and it lasted some time. Don Alphonso Vietat said, that he had been ordered to England for their service by the king of Portugal, by whom they would be made heartily welcome, should they land in his country; for he was expecting them, and would be much gratified by their coming. Upon this, they determined to make for Oporto, which is but thirty leagues from Lisbon; but they altered their mind, saying it would be more honourable to land on the enemy's coast, and that by so doing they should the more alarm them. They then steered for Corunna, and, having a favourable wind, were not more than five days sailing thither from Brest: they cast anchor in the road, to wait for the tide, as it was too low water when they arrived to approach near the shore.

I will now speak of the French knights, sir Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châtelmorant, the brothers de Braquemont and the rest, who had set out on a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella. After they had made their offerings and prayers to the shrine of St. James, and were sitting at their inn, news was brought by those who were guarding the coasts, that the English fleet was in sight, and shewed a disposition to land at Corunna. Before their baggage was unloaded, or the saddles had been taken from their horses, they mounted them again, saying they must hasten back to Corunna, to defend the port; for, should the English unfortunately gain the castle and town, they  
would

would be masters of the whole country. Some of the knights borrowed horses at St. Jago, and made such dispatch as to arrive at Corunna that night, though it was fourteen country leagues distant, and a difficult road to find. They got there very opportunely, just as the English fleet was entering the harbour.

The garrisons in town and castle were well pleased at the coming of the French knights, whose baggage and armour followed in the course of the night. It was a fine sight, on the morrow, to view all the ships and galleys enter the port laden with men at arms and purveyances, with trumpets and clarions sounding; and those signals were answered by way of defiance, by the trumpets and clarions of the castle. The English from this knew there were good garrisons in both town and castle, and that the French had possession of the castle.

The lords and their men disembarked on the shore, but did not approach the town, as it was too well fortified, and seemed filled with men at arms. They, however, took up their lodgings in some huts of fishermen and seafaring men on the outside of the walls. They were forced to build other huts, as they were so numerous; and the four first days after their landing they were thus employed, as well as in clearing the vessels of their stores and purveyances, which were in great quantities, and in disembarking their horses. They had been fifteen days on board; and though they were plentifully supplied with hay, oats and fresh water, yet the rolling

rolling of the sea had as much affected them as it had done their masters, which made it needful to walk them about and take every care of them.

When the ships had been entirely cleared, the duke was asked his pleasure concerning them. He replied, 'Let all the sailors be well paid, and take the ships for their pains: I shall dismiss them, for I wish all the world to know, that I will never recross the sea to England until I be master of Castille, or die in the attempt.'

These orders were obeyed; and the sailors being paid to their satisfaction, made sail, some to Portugal, Lisbon, Bayonne, Brittany, or England, as they pleased, but none remained behind. The duke of Lancaster and his army were lodged in huts covered with leaves, or in such houses as they met with; and remained before Corunna upwards of a month amusing themselves; for the chief lords had brought hounds for their pastime, and hawks for the ladies. They had also mills to grind their corn, and ovens to bake: for they never willingly go to war in foreign countries without carrying things of that description with them.

The foragers went daily in search of what forage they could find: for, as they were in a poor deserted country, it was not very plentiful, which forced them to seek it at a distance. The French knights at Corunna were eager to meet their enemies; and, having learnt how foolishly unguarded the foragers were, said, they would some day or other catch them, and make them pay, once for all, for what they had pillaged.

They armed themselves, to the number of about two hundred, and, mounting their horses, were conducted by guides, at night-fall, through woods, and over mountains, until they came to a mountain, called in that country Espinete, by break of day, where they halted, for they had learnt that the English foragers were out in that part.

The foragers had been absent from their army two days, collecting as much as they could carry, and were on their return to Corunna; but their only road lay over this mountain of Espinete. The instant they came there, the French knights rushed upon them, shouting out, 'Les Barres for the Barrois!' The foragers were thunderstruck, for the greater part were unarmed: there might be six score archers, who gallantly drew themselves up in array, and wounded, with their arrows, both horses and riders. When they had expended their arrows, they flung down their bows, and defended themselves as well as they could, with the other arms they had: some fled and hid themselves, in hopes of escaping. Why should I make a long story? Of the three hundred foragers, full two hundred were slain: the rest saved themselves, as well as they could, among bushes and rocks, where no horse could venture.

The runaways fled to Corunna, and related their misfortune, and how fir Barrois des Barres and his company had discomfited them.

The army was much surprised at this; and fir mas Moreaux the marshal, had five hundred, ore, instantly armed and mounted, when, taking

taking the pennon of St. George, he galloped off with them towards the mountain of Espinete, to meet the French. When there arrived, he only perceived the slaughtered foragers; for the French had returned by the road they had come; but, had they not had good guides, they would never have found it through the inclosures.

The English, on their return, when within half a league of their army, saw the French re-enter the castle of Corunna, which vexed them much: but help it they could not. The army blamed the marshal for having suffered the foragers to go without an escort of men at arms, when the enemy were so near, and in such numbers. The constable and duke of Lancaster were so sharp with him, he was quite ashamed: he said, that they had been caught, to be sure, this once, though they had foraged ten times before without any interruption. 'Sir Thomas,' said the duke, 'be more cautious in future; for such things may fall out in one day or hour, as may not happen again in a century.'

## CHAP. V.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AFTER REMAINING  
BEFORE CORUNNA UPWARDS OF A MONTH,  
MARCHES HIS ARMY TO SANT JAGO, WHICH  
SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

**W**HEN the duke of Lancaster had remained before Corunna upwards of a month, as I have before said, and when his men and horses were quite recovered, he was advised to march towards Sant Jago, where there was a richer and more open country for his cavalry.

The army dislodged from before Corunna, and marched in three battalions. The marshal led the van, of three hundred lances and six hundred archers; then marched the duke with four hundred spears, accompanied by all the ladies. The rear was composed of four hundred lances and seven hundred archers, accompanied by the constable sir John Holland. They marched very slowly, and were three days in going from Corunna to Sant Jago. You must know, that the province of Galicia was much alarmed at the arrival of the duke of Lancaster, for they remembered his power well.

When the marshal and the van came before the town of St. Jago de Compostella, where the body of St. James reposes, and which many make  
long

such long journeys to visit, he found the gates shut, as might have been supposed. There was no other garrison but its inhabitants; for the French knights refused taking upon them the defence of it, to the last extremity, as it was not strong enough to withstand the force under the duke of Lancaster. The marshal sent forward a herald to hear what the townsmen would say. The herald found at the barriers the captain of the guard, called don Alphonso Sene, and said to him, ‘A few paces hence is the marshal of my lord of Lancaster’s army, who would wish to speak with you.’ ‘I am very agreeable to it: let him advance and I will parley with him.’ The herald returned to the marshal with this answer.

The marshal left his army, with only twenty lances, and rode to the barriers, where he found the captain and some of the townsmen waiting. The marshal dismounted, with twelve others, among whom were the lord Bassett and sir William Farrington, and addressed him as follows: ‘Captain, and you men of St. Jago, the duke, and duchess of Lancaster your queen, (she being the eldest daughter of Don Pedro, your late king) send me to know how you mean to act: to open your gates and receive them as your legal sovereigns, as good subjects ought to do; or force me to assault your walls, and take your town by storm. But know, that if you suffer the place to be stormed, all within shall be put to the sword, that others may take warning.’

The captain replied,—‘We wish to follow the  
dictates

dictates of reason, and acquit ourselves loyally towards those to whom we owe obedience. We know well that the duchess of Lancaster is daughter to Don Pedro of Castille; and if that king had reigned peaceably in Castille, she was heiress to his crown, but things are altered; for the whole kingdom turned to the obedience of his brother, king Henry, by the success of the battle of Monteil: we all swore fidelity to him; and he was acknowledged king as long as he lived: after his decease we all swore obedience to don John, his son, who reigns at this moment. Tell us how those of Corunna acted; for it is impossible but that, during the month you lay before that place, some negotiations and treaties were concluded.'

Sir Thomas Moreaux answered,—' You speak truly: we have had indeed negotiations with those of Corunna, otherwise we should not have marched hither, though that town is double the strength of yours. I will tell you what they have done: they have entered into a composition with us, by declaring they will act in the same manner as you do; but, if you force us to the assault, they will not follow that example. If Galicia surrender to my lord duke and his lady, they will surrender also, for which they have given us such pledges as are satisfactory.'

' Well,' replied the captain, ' we will agree to this: there are many large towns and cities in the realm: ride on, therefore, and leave us in  
peace

peace, for we will act as they shall, and give you good security for our performing it.'

'Oh this will never do,' said the marshal: 'such a treaty will by no means please the duke and duchess; for they are resolved to reside in this town, and keep their state as monarchs should in their own kingdoms. Answer me briefly what you mean to do: surrender, or have yourselves and town destroyed?'

'My lord,' said the captain, 'allow us a little time to consult together, and you shall be speedily answered.' 'I consent,' said the marshal. The captain then withdrew into the town, and assembled the inhabitants at the usual place where public meetings were held, and related to them the conversation that had passed between him and the marshal. I believe the townsmen at last consented to receive the duke and duchess as their monarchs; and to entertain them as such in their town as long as they might please to reside there, if don John, king of Castille, did not, with his power, attack them. But if it should happen, that after they had made St. Jago their residence for a year, or a longer time according to their pleasure, and should depart from the country, for England, Bordeaux or Bayonne, or wherever else they may prefer, the duke must engage to leave behind a sufficient force of men at arms to defend them against their enemies, otherwise they would surrender the town to don John of Castille, and hold themselves acquitted of allegiance to the duke.

Sir Thomas Moreaux cheerfully accepted these

these terms, and told them they had well spoken, and to the purpose, and that the duke and duchess wished for nothing better. The marshal returned to his division, and to the duke and duchess, who were waiting for him on the plain ; to whom he related all that had passed and the treaty he had concluded, to which they assented, saying it was well done.

The army was advancing gaily in battle-array towards the town of St. Jago ; when about two French leagues from the place, they were met by a long procession of the clergy, bearing relics, crosses and streamers, and crowds of men, women and children, and the principal inhabitants carrying the keys of the town, which they presented, on their knees, with much seeming good will, to the duke and duchess, (but whether it was feigned or not I cannot say) and acknowledged them for their king and queen.

Thus they entered the town of St. Jago, and rode directly to the church of St. James, where the duke, duchess, their children and attendants, kneeling offered up their prayers to the holy body of St. James, and made rich gifts at the altar. It was told me that the duke, duchess and the ladies, Constance and Philippa, were lodged in the abbey, and there held their court. Sir John Holland and sir Thomas Moreaux, with their ladies, were lodged in the town : the other barons and knights as they could, and the men at arms on the plains round the town. Those who could not find houses built themselves huts covered with boughs, of which there were plenty  
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in the country, and made themselves comfortable with what they could get.

Meat and strong wines were in abundance; of which the archers drank so much that they were for the greater part of their time in bed drunk; and very often by drinking too much new wine they had fevers, and in the morning such headaches as to prevent them from doing any thing the remainder of the day, for it was now the vintage.

## CHAP. VI.

FRENCH KNIGHTS LEAVE CORUNNA, AND JOIN THE KING OF CASTILLE.—THEY ACQUIRE MUCH WEALTH BY PLUNDERING THE COUNTRY, IN ORDER TO FRUSTRATE THE ENGLISH.

**S**IR John de Châtelmorant, le Barrois des Barres and the other French knights who had guarded Corunna, hearing that the duke of Lancaster had been peaceably received in St. Jago, held a council on what they should do, saying,—‘ It does not signify for us to remain here any longer, since we shall meet with no fortunate adventures : let us march to Burgos, where the king is, and learn from him what his intentions are : perhaps he may be going to meet the English, for, if he allow them quietly to establish themselves, by degrees they will be lords of Castille. It will be more

more for our honour to go to him than to stay here.'

They accordingly made preparations, and leaving the castle, procured guides to conduct them to Burgos; otherwise they would probably have fallen in with their enemies. They rode through Biscay, and skirted Galicia to Léon, where the king and queen at that time resided. When these knights waited on the king, he received them very kindly, and enquired from them the news, although he knew enough. They told him of their opportune arrival at Corunna, as the English fleet was entering the harbour, wherein they found seven galleys and ships of Biscay laden with wine, of which the English took advantage, for the merchants were soon cased of the whole. 'It is thus in war,' replied the king: 'they were unwise, when they heard the English fleet were at sea, not to run somewhere else for safety.' 'In God's name, sir,' returned the knights, 'they had come thither for security: they said, their cargoes of wine were for Flanders, and having heard from the sailors of Saint Andero that the English were in the bay of Biscay, and that the king of Portugal had sent them large ships and galleys, it was natural to conclude they would have steered for Portugal; but they did the contrary, as it appears, and landing at Corunna, have entered Galicia.' Upon this, the king said,—'Now you knights from France, who are so well acquainted with arms, and know more about warlike matters than my

my subjects, from being so long trained to them; what are your opinions of the English? how do you think they will act this season?' 'By my faith,' replied some (for all gave their opinions) 'we can but ill judge what they will do, for the English are very reserved: and we can only guess how they will act, or whither they will march. We must suppose that the duke of Lancaster will remain all the ensuing winter in St. Jago, and his army thereabouts; whence he will overrun Galicia, conquer some small forts, and lay in stores of provision, until the return of summer, when treaties will be formed between him and the king of Portugal, for them to act in concert. Perhaps a family-alliance may take place, for you will observe that the duke has brought with him his daughters, those that are married as well as the others: now, as there are two unmarried, we imagine the king of Portugal, your adversary, will have one of them.' 'What would you advise me to do?' said the king. 'We will tell you, sire,' replied the knights. 'Order all your strongest castles on the borders of Galicia to be well guarded, and destroy the smaller ones. We learn that it is the custom of this country to fortify churches and towers, whereto the inhabitants of the flat countries carry their wealth and flock. This will turn out to their destruction and the confusion of your kingdom; for when the English take the field, these churches and towers will prove no obstacle to them: on the contrary, they will be recruited from the victual they will there find, and continue the war with more vigour,  
and

and conquer the remainder. We therefore advise you to destroy all suchlike forts, while you have time so to do, and to give up all, that is not secured in large and strong towns, by Michaelmas, or at the latest by Andrew's day, to your men at arms; for it is better they should have the advantage and profit, than your enemy. We advise you, in particular, to send some well informed ambassadors to the king of France, and to his uncles of Berry and Burgundy, that they may be made acquainted with the real state of your country, and that by the return of summer, or sooner if the season will permit us to take the field, you may wage such a war as was never before made in Castille. Write pressing letters to the king and his uncles, that they may assist you in this necessity with such numbers of men at arms that you may resist your enemies and preserve your kingdom. There is a strong connection between you and the king of France, which was first made by your predecessor and father; and you may be assured, that in your distress neither the king nor realm of France, which can do no more than England and Portugal united, will desert you. Believe us, that as soon as the king and his council shall learn your situation, they will take such steps as will prevent you from receiving any loss in this war; for know, that those French knights and squires, who are desirous of glory, will, at the slightest word, hasten hither to seek it, for at this moment they know not where to employ their arms. We mention this, because there is now a peace  
between

between the French and Flemings, and a truce with the English and French on the other side the Loire until St. John the Baptist's day ensuing. You will therefore see men at arms, knights and squires, fly hither from France as well to advance their own honour as to see this country and meet the English. But, sire, we particularly recommend the destruction of these small forts, if you wish to preserve you country.'

The king replied, 'You have advised me loyally and I shall instantly follow your counsel, and order, without further consultation, all such forts to be demolished as are not tenable, and make you a present of whatever may be found in them.' The knights said, he had well spoken, that they would attend to that business, and assist him in defending and preserving his realm.

This gift of the king of Castille to the knights from France and those about his person was worth to them two hundred thousand francs, especially to those first comers, who had thrown themselves into Corunna when the duke of Lancaster had arrived, and pursued his march to Sant Jago.

All the small forts, churches and towers, which had been embattled in Castille, were abandoned and destroyed, and the poor peasants disappointed in their expectations of having therein deposited their wealth and stock in safety; for the knights and squires went thither with their men and seized on all the wines, corn, and cattle, and drove them to their quarters; but the gold and silver which they found, and

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the fums they made the peasants pay for their ransoms, or to have their stock back again, went into their own purses, unknown to any one but themselves. Some of the poorer squires, more bold and cunning than the rest, (for there are always some of that sort) who had left their homes miserably mounted or on foot, were so active that they had now fine couriers and gennets for pleasure, with five or six silver girdles, and purses with a thousand or two of francs in them.

Thus did these companions, who first entered Castille, make fortunes, which the flat countries paid; for every place was rifled and devoured even by their own countrymen, who would not that their enemies should be any gainers by their invasion.

When it was told in France how poor knights and squires were enriching themselves in Castille, where they spared neither the lands of friends nor those of their foes, their companions were more eager than ever to leave France, in the hopes of being sharers with them.

## CHAP. VII.

GREAT PREPARATIONS ARE MADE THROUGHOUT  
FRANCE FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.—  
THE DEATH OF FRANCIS ATREMEN.

THE king of France, his uncles and council, had been well informed of the intended expedition of the duke of Lancaster, before he had sailed from England, (for fame spreads all things abroad) and that it was meant against Castille. It was for this reason the duke of Burgundy had concluded so easily a peace with the Flemings, and in order that the king of Castille might have assistance; for the king of France was bound to aid him, as he had always succoured France, when called upon with men and ships. Add to this, the great desire the young king of France had ever shewn to invade England with a powerful army and navy. In this he was joined by all the chivalry of the realm, but especially by the duke of Burgundy, the constable of France, and the count de St. Pol, although he had married king Richard's sister, as well as by the lord de Coucy.

These lords said, 'Why should not we, for once, make a visit to England to see the country and its inhabitants, and learn the way thither, as the English have done in France? This year, therefore, 1386, we will go thither, as well to break

break up the expedition of the duke of Lancaster, and force him to return home, as to give alarm to the English, and see how they will behave.' Greater armaments were made in France than had hitherto been done. Heavier taxes were imposed on all the towns and country than for one hundred years, and such sums had never been raised, nor were ever greater preparations made by sea and land. The whole summer, until September, was employed in grinding flour, and making biscuit in Arras, Bethune, Lille, Douay, Amiens, St. Omer, and in all the towns near to Sluys, for it was the plan of the king to embark at Sluys, sail for England, and destroy the whole country.

Many of the rich men of France were forced to pay a third or fourth of their property, in order to build vessels of a sufficient size; and the poorer sort were taxed as much as they were worth, to pay the men at arms.

There was not a vessel of any size from the port of Seville to Prussia, that the French could lay their hands on, but was seized by fair or foul means for the king of France. Provisions arrived from all quarters. Very great quantities of wine, salted meats, oats, trusses of hay, onions, verjuice, biscuit, flour, butter, the yolks of eggs in powder and rammed in barrels, and every other necessary, were sent from Flanders, so that, in future times, those who have not been eye-witnesses will never believe the accounts.

Lords and knights, at great distances, were written to, to request they would accompany the king

king of France in this expedition: even as far as Germany, Savoy, and the lands of the count d'Armagnac. The earl of Savoy was retained with five hundred lances; as were also the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne; and, because these lords were so distant, they sent before them vast provision of stores; and it was wonderful to see the quantity of costly articles that came to Flanders, by land and sea, through Damme, Bruges and Sluys.

When St. John's day was come, all the great vessels in Holland, Zealand, Middleburgh, Dordrecht, Schoenhoven, Leyden, the Brille, and other places near the sea, were sought for to carry this army from Sluys; but the Hollanders and the rest said, that if they wanted their vessels or their services, they must pay them down the sums agreed on, otherwise they would not stir. They were wise in so doing; for they were instantly paid, before they would leave their houses or harbours.

Never, since God created the world, were there seen such numbers of large ships, as filled the harbours of Sluys and Blanckenburgh; for, when they were counted, in the month of September, this same year, they were twelve hundred and eighty-seven ships. Their masts, on coming from sea, appeared like a thick forest.

The constable's ship was building at Treguier, in Brittany; and the constable had there constructed a town of frame-work, of large timber, which was to be put together, on their landing in England, for the lords to retreat to, as a place

of safety, and to be lodged therein, to prevent any danger that might arise from nightly attacks. This town was so constructed, that when they dislodged, it could be taken to pieces, roofs and all; and many carpenters and other workmen, who had been employed on it, were engaged, at very high wages, to attend the properly taking it to pieces and erecting it again.

I never heard the name of the duke of Brittany, nor had he laid up in Flanders stores of any kind; nor of the duke of Touraine, the king's youngest brother, nor of the count de Blois, as among the number of those who were to accompany the king on this occasion. But all could not go: it was necessary some should remain behind in France, to guard the realm.

Whoever had been at Damme, Bruges or Sluys at this time, and had seen how busily all were employed in loading the vessels with hay in trusses, garlic, onions, biscuit in sacks, pease, beans, cheese-bowls, barley, oats, rye, wheat, wax-candles, housings, shoes, boots, helmets, spurs, knives, hatchets, wedges, pick-axes, hooks, wooden pegs, boxes filled with ointments, tow, bandages, coverlids for sleeping on, horse-shoe nails, bottles of verjuice and vinegar, iron, stone ware, pewter and wooden pots and dishes, candlesticks, basons, vases, fat pigs, hasters, kitchen furniture, utensils for the buttery, and for the other offices, and every article necessary for man or beast, would have been struck with astonishment. The eagerness and pleasure were  
so

so great in the beholding it, that had any one had a fever or toothache, he would have got rid of them by running from one place to another. The conversations which were overheard between the French shewed they considered England would be ruined and destroyed, beyond resource, the men put to death, and the women and children carried in slavery to France.

The king of England and his council were duly informed of these grand preparations; and it was confidently affirmed and believed that the French would not fail to invade the country, as they had sworn they would do so. It is not strange that such formidable preparations should require the utmost attention, nor would it be matter of surprise if the English were at first much alarmed, for immense as these armaments were, they were greatly magnified; and it was not certain whether they were meant to invade England or attack Calais by sea and land; for the English knew well there was not a town the French were more desirous of regaining than Calais.

On this account, great stores of corn and other grain, salted meat and fish, wines and brandies, were sent from England to Calais. Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, sir Hugh Calverley, sir William Elmham, the earl of Angus, sir Walter Warren, sir Walter Paul, sir William Touchet, sir Lewis de Montalban, sir Colars d'Ambreticourt, were ordered thither to defend it, and with them five hundred men at arms and as many archers. The earl of Arundel and lord Henry Despenfer put to sea with forty large

ships, having on board three hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers completely armed.

It was, on the other hand, reported in several places in France, Hainault and Picardy, that this armament was not destined for either England or Calais, but that, when it was completed, it would invest the town of Ghent. I was told the men of Ghent were seriously alarmed: but they were to blame if they shewed any fear, for the duke of Burgundy, their lord, wished them nothing but prosperity, although Francis Atremen, shortly after the peace, was slain at Ghent.

The duke was no way implicated in his death, for he bore him no hatred, although, during the war of Ghent, he had performed many gallant deeds in the service of his townsmen, as have been truly related in this history. If Francis Atremen came to such an end, he has nobody to blame but himself; for, had he believed Peter du Bois, this misfortune would not have befallen him.

Peter du Bois gave him notice what he might expect at the conclusion of the peace between the duke of Burgundy and Ghent, on their return to Ghent from Tournay. When Peter was making his preparations to accompany the lord Bouchier to England, he said, 'Francis, what do you say? will you not go to England with us? for now is the time.' 'No,' replied he, 'I will remain in Ghent.' 'And how,' said Peter, 'can you suppose you will live there in quiet? for there are many who mortally hate both you and me. I would not remain there for any sum of money,  
for

for there is no dependance on the populace. Have you never heard how they murdered Jacob von Artaveld, who had done them much service, and given them such good advice, and had on all occasions assisted them? and yet, from the speeches of a linen-weaver they slew him, without any of the principal inhabitants interfering in his behalf. On the contrary, they dissembled, and in their hearts were rejoiced at his death. Now, Francis, just so it will happen to you, and to me, if I stay; but that I will not, so I bid you adieu.'

'It will not so happen,' replied Francis, 'for my lord of Burgundy has pardoned all, and offers me, if I choose to reside with him, to be equerry of his stables with four horses at my command, and shews me, as well as the lord Guy de la Tremouille and the other knights of his household, every mark of affection.'

'In God's name,' said Peter, 'I do not speak of my lord of Burgundy, nor of his knights, for they are well inclined to keep peace, but of the Ghent men. There are some to whom you have not always behaved well: have you forgotten the lord de Harzelles, whom you caused to be assassinated, and such and such others. Know, that the revenge of their relations will fall on you within a short time, if you remain: take my advice: rather than live here, accept the duke's offer.'

'I will consider of this,' answered Francis; 'but I am determined not to go to England.' Thus the conversation ended. Francis Atremen  
staid

staid in Flanders, and Peter du Bois, as you have before heard, went with lord Bouchier to England. What followed you shall hear. Soon after peace had been proclaimed throughout Flanders, an edict was published in all towns dependant on the duke of Burgundy, forbidding any one whatever to wear armour or swords, or to have arms carried by their followers.

Francis Atremen, during the war of Ghent, had been one of its principal rulers, and one who had the most attention paid him. Whenever he walked the streets he was followed by thirty or forty varlets, who were well pleased at any orders he chose to give them. He had kept this state so long, that he was loth to give it up, and was desirous of being followed by three or four armed with swords or defensive staves. When this proclamation of the duke of Burgundy was made, he never imagined it any way concerned him, so much did he fancy himself in favour with the duke and the town: but he was mistaken; for, seven or eight days after the publication of the edict, the duke's bailiff came to him and said,—‘ Francis, you seem suspicious and afraid of our lord's officers, or why do you now go armed through the town of Ghent, followed by your varlets, armed also, with swords, as in times of war? We are much displeased thereat, and command you, in the name of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, that you lay them aside.’

Francis, who in fact meant no ill, but kept up ~~a~~ state through pomp, replied,—‘ Bailiff, I shall

shall willingly obey your orders, as is right; for, thank God, I bear no malice nor wish evil to any one; but I thought I was so well considered in the town, that I might have had my sword and armour borne after me without its being objected to.'

'You are mistaken,' said the bailiff: 'it is the townsmen, to whom you have done so many services, who have interfered, and tell me they are surprised how I suffer it; for it seems to them you want to renew a war, for which they have no inclination. I therefore beg of you, Francis, that you will so act, as that I may hear no more of it; for, if you do not observe the edict, I shall look on you as an enemy to the duke and duchess of Burgundy.'

The bailiff of Ghent departed. Francis Atremen returned to his house, and ordered his varlets to lay aside their arms. He became melancholy; and, for the greater part of the times he went abroad, it was alone, or having one varlet or a boy attending him. Not long after this conversation with the bailiff, a festival was kept at the monastery of St. Peter, without Ghent, whither Francis went alone, or only attended by a single varlet, neither having swords nor arms. He was watched, and followed by a bastard of the late lord de Harzelles, anxious to revenge his death, in which common fame reported Francis Atremen to have been strongly guilty. The bastard, having provided himself with arms, followed him out of the town, and when at a proper distance, and no one near, he called out  
to

to him, 'Francis, you are a dead man: you put to death my father, and I will do the like to you.' As Francis turned round, the bastard, who was a stout fellow, struck him so violent a blow on the head, that it split his skull to the neck and felled him dead. The bastard walked quietly away, for none pursued him, and no more was said. Francis Atremen came by his death for not following the advice of Peter du Bois.

When news of this reached England, and came to the knowledge of Peter du Bois, he but slightly pitied him, saying, 'Before I left Ghent, I truly told him what would happen; but he would not mind what I said, and has suffered for it. See if any one will meddle in the matter: certainly none of those who, during the war, seemed such warm friends to him, and honoured him so much. It was for fear of such events that I followed the advice of lord Bouchier, and came with him to England.'

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## CHAP. VIII.

THE FRENCH PUT THEMSELVES TO USELESS EXPENSE ON THEIR MARINE.—THE ENGLISH MAKE JUDICIOUS PREPARATIONS TO OPPOSE THEM.

WE will return to the preparations going forward at Damme and Sluys, which were so formidable, that the like was never remembered in

in the memory of man, nor is there any written account of such. Money was no more spared than if it rained gold, or was pumped up from the sea. The great barons of France had sent their servants to Sluys to embark every thing they might have occasion for in this expedition; for all were impatient to cross over; and the king, young as he was, shewed greater impatience than any.

Each lord strove to have his vessel the best supplied, and the most ornamented with painting and gilding, with their arms emblazoned on them and on the flags. Painters made a good harvest, for they were paid whatever they asked, and even with this there were not a sufficiency. The masts were painted from top to bottom; and some, by way of magnificence, were even covered with sheets of fine gold, above which were emblazoned the arms of the different lords to whom the vessels belonged. It was told me, particularly, that sir Guy de la Tremouille expended such sums in ornamenting and painting his own ship that they amounted to upwards of two thousand francs. Their banners, pennons and standards were so very grand, as to surprise all who saw them. No ornament nor decoration could be imagined, but these lords employed it on their vessels. The poor of France paid for all: the taxes were so grievous in that country, that the rich complained, and the poorer sorts ran away.

All which was going forward in France, Flanders, Bruges, Damme and Sluys was known in England, and with many additions to the real truth.

truth. The people in several places were exceedingly alarmed, and generally the priests made processions in many towns three times a-week; where, with much devotion, they offered up their prayer to God, to avert this peril from them. There were upwards of one hundred thousand who were desirous the French should come to England, saying, to comfort the weak hearted, 'Let them come: by God, not a soul shall return back to tell their story.' Such as were in debt, and had not any intention of paying nor wherewithal to do so, were delighted, and said to their creditors, 'Hold your tongues: they are coining florins in France, and we will pay you with them:' and thus they lived extravagantly, and expended largely, for credit was not refused them. Whenever they were asked to pay, they replied, 'How can you ask for money? is it not better that we spend it than that Frenchmen should find it and carry it away?' Thus were many thousand pounds sterling foolishly spent in England.

The king of England was during this time in Wales with the earl of Oxford, who governed England, for without his consent nothing was done. The king's privy council consisted of sir Simon Burley, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Robert Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, sir Michael de la Pole, and also the bishop of Norwich and sir William Neville, brother to the Lord Neville. These counsellors did with the king as they pleased, and carried him whither so they liked; for neither had his uncles of Cambridge

Cambridge and Buckingham been able to retain any influence, nor could they act, without knowing whether it were agreeable to the above-named counsellors. All these discords were the topic of conversation in France, and incited them to hasten their preparations. They wished to force the duke of Lancaster to return from Castille, but would not on that account have given up their invasion.

The lords, prelates and citizens of the principal towns in England, having obtained exact information that the French were nearly ready to put to sea, held an assembly, in which they debated what was proper to be done. The king was written to by his uncles to return to London, as the whole country was much dissatisfied with him and his advisers. The king and his council, not daring to refuse, left Wales, where he and his queen had resided a considerable time. On his arrival at Windsor, he staid some days, and, there leaving his queen, came to his palace of Westminster. Those who had any business to transact went thither to the king; and before the parliament was holden, a council was called to consider how they might appease the great discontent which appeared in the country.

In this parliament, which was attended by the king, his uncles, and all the nobles and prelates of the realm, the earl of Salisbury, a prudent and valiant man, spoke as follows: ‘Your majesty, and my lords present, need not be surprised if our adversary, the king of France, proposes to invade us; for since the death of the most potent and sagacious

flagacious prince, Edward of happy memory, our sovereign lord, this realm has incurred several risks of being destroyed by its own subjects and the commotions of peasants. It is also perfectly well known in France that we disagree among ourselves, and are torn by faction, which makes them imagine their enterprise cannot fail of success. The danger is indeed great, for he must be weak who fears not his enemy. While we remained united, the king with the people, and the people with the king, we were victorious and powerful, and there were none able to do us any essential injury. It is therefore necessary, (and never was any thing in England more pressing) for us to act in unity, and reform what may be wrong, if we wish to preserve our honour, as well as for us to inquire into the state of our ports, that such defence may be made that the kingdom be not any way hurt, nor we accused of neglect by the country. This realm has been long in its flower; and you know that what is in flower has greater need of attention than if in fruit. We must therefore act as if it was in flower; for, since these last sixty years, those knights and squires who have gone out of it have acquired more renown than any others of what nation soever. Let us exert ourselves that our honour be preserved untarnished as long as we live.'

This speech of the earl of Salisbury was attentively listened to; and the lords said, it would be right to follow his advice. I will not longer dwell on what was debated at this meeting, for I do  
not

not pretend to know every thing; but I do know, that after proper care had been taken, as I have already noticed, for the defence of Calais, all the coast of England, where it was thought the French would land, was well guarded.

The earl of Salisbury, because his estate was in the isle of Wight, which lies opposite to the country of Caux in Normandy, was ordered thither to guard and defend it with the men at arms and archers of that country. The earl of Devonshire was sent to Southampton with two hundred men at arms and six hundred archers, to guard that haven. The earl of Northumberland to the port of Rye, with the same number of men at arms and archers. The earl of Cambridge was sent to Dover with five hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. His brother, the earl of Buckingham, to Sandwich, with six hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. The earls of Stafford and Pembroke to Orwell, with five hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. Sir Henry and sir Faulx Percy to Yarmouth, with three hundred men at arms and six hundred archers. Sir Simon Burley was appointed governor of Dover castle only.

Every port and harbour from the Humber to Cornwall was well provided with men at arms and archers, and watchmen were posted on all the hills near the sea-coasts opposite to France and Flanders. The manner of posting these watchers was as follows: they had large Gascony casks filled with sand, which they placed one on the other, rising like columns: on these were planks, where

where the watchmen remained night and day on the look-out. They were ordered, the moment they should observe the fleet of France steering towards land, to light torches and make great fires on the hills to alarm the country, and the forces within sight of these fires were to hasten thither. It had been resolved to allow the king of France to land, and even to remain unmolested for three or four days: they were first to attack the fleet, and destroy it and all their stores, and then to advance on the king of France, not to combat him immediately, but to harass his army, so that they might be disabled and afraid to forage; for the corn countries were all to be burnt, and England at best is a difficult foraging country; by which plan they would be starved and easily destroyed.

Such was the plan laid down by the council of England. Colchester bridge was ordered to be broken down, for a deep river runs under it, which flows through Essex, and falls into the Thames, opposite the island of Shepey. The Londoners would pull this bridge down for the greater security of their town.

If the taxes were burdensome on towns and persons in France, I must say they were not much lighter in England, and the country suffered from them a long time afterwards; but they were paid cheerfully that they might be more effectually guarded. There were at this time ten thousand men at arms and one hundred thousand archers in England, although the duke of Lancaster had led so large a force to Castille.

I will

I will now speak a little of this duke, and of the interview between him and the king of Portugal, and then return to England, for the matter presses, and I wish to speak of each and of their respective transactions.

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## CHAP. IX.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL, WHEN INFORMED OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S ARRIVAL AT SANT JAGO, WRITES HIM FRIENDLY LETTERS.—THE KING OF CASTILLE DEMANDS SUCCOURS FROM FRANCE.—THE TOWN OF ROUELLES IN GALICIA TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.

**Y**OU have before heard of the arrival of the duke of Lancaster with a large army at Corunna; how that city, but not the castle, had surrendered to him on terms, similar to those which were imposed on the other towns in Castille, by which means the city was neither attacked nor hurt; you have also heard how he and his family had taken possession of Sant Jago de Compostella, where he intended to reside, until he should have some intelligence from the king of Portugal. Don John, as soon as he knew the duke to be at St. Jago, was much rejoiced, thinking, that when united, they could carry on an advantageous war against Castille. He ordered the most friendly letters

letters to be written to the duke and duchess, and to be forwarded instantly by special messengers. The receipt of such letters gave much pleasure to the duke and duchess; for they had great dependance on the king of Portugal, and knew that without his aid, they would never be enabled to do any thing effectual against Castille. They, therefore, made rich presents to the messengers, and returned the warmest answers. The duke, in his answer, gave the king to understand, that he should have much pleasure if an interview took place between them, as he wanted to have some conferences with him.

While all these marks of affection were reciprocally tendered and received between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, the king of Castille was strengthening himself by every means in his power. He frequently stated his situation to the court of France, and was urgent in his demands for assistance to defend his realm; for he expected, when the season would allow, that there would be a vigorous war made on him, as the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster would then form a junction, and would be in such force as would overrun all Castille, unless he could raise an army to oppose them.

The king of France and his council, in their answer, desired the king of Castille not to be uneasy; for, before the month of January was passed, they would give the English so much to do at home, as to prevent them from knowing which way to turn themselves; that when England should

should be completely destroyed, they would come to his aid by sea, through Galicia or Portugal; and if their enemies still remained in that country, they would drive them out of it in a handsome manner, and within the year put an end to all these wars.

The king of Castille contented himself with this answer as well as he could: indeed, he could not help himself; for none came to him from France, excepting those who had defended the castle of Corunna. All knights and squires, however great their distance in the kingdom, hastened to Paris, Lille and Douay: and the whole of that country, to the extent of fourteen leagues, was filled with men at arms and their followers. The multitudes were so great, that those who superintended the shipping, notwithstanding the number of vessels, declared they could not be all transported at once, by at least forty thousand men.

It was ordered, that no one was to be received on board the transports but true men at arms: and no knight was to have more than one varlet, nor any great baron more than two squires. No horses were to be embarked but those of the principal lords; and this was so strictly observed at Sluys that the names of none were written down for the passage, nor received on board, but good men at arms. There was such a rascally crew in Flanders, in the country of Tournay, and in the castlewicks of Lille, Douay and Artois, that they devoured and plundered every thing to the great loss of the

poor inhabitants, on whom they lived, though they dare not complain for fear of their lives. They were more destructive than the English would have been if quartered in that country. The king of France and his lords had many fears; for, should they leave these scoundrels behind, they would unite and master the country; and this would have happened, had the invasion taken place, and been unsuccessful.

During the residence of the duke and duchess of Lancaster at St. Jago, several of their knights and squires made excursions into the country, and supported themselves in the best manner in which they were able, on whatever they could find. It fell out, that sir Thomas Moreaux, marshal of the army, in company with sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir John d'Ambréticourt, Thierry and William de Soumain, and about two hundred spears and five hundred archers, when in Galicia, came before the town of Rouelles, seven leagues from Sant Jago. He had heard that the townsmen would not acknowledge the duke of Lancaster for king; and had slain his foragers, who, on their return, had passed by their barriers. They had ruined their roads so much, that the only tolerable one was close to the town; and, when they found a good opportunity, they rushed out, and, like thieves as they were, murdered all passers, whether foragers or not. Complaints had been made of their conduct to the marshal, who was determined to apply a remedy, that being a part of his official duty. He and his companions dismounted,

mounted, when near the town. The watch had before sounded his horn, which had prepared the inhabitants, and they had closed the gates and mounted the battlements; for it would not have fared well to any who had remained without the wall.

The marshal, seeing from their appearance it must be assaulted, and having mused a while, said to sir John d'Ambreticourt and Thierry de Soumain,—‘Mount your horses, and ride round the town to see where we may the best make our assault, and with the least loss of our men.’ Having mounted their horses, they soon rode round the place, for it was of no great circuit, and carefully examined every part of it. On their return to the marshal, who was waiting for them, they said,—‘Sir, this town has but two gates: you are at one, and the other is directly opposite: these are the two places which seem to us easiest of attack; for the ditches round the town are deep, difficult of descent and ascent, on account of thorns and brambles.’

‘I believe you are right,’ replied the marshal: ‘I will remain here with a part of our men, and you, Maubrun, shall take the other and commence the attack. I know not what may be the event, but I with joy see those fellows, who, from their battlements, observe all we are doing. Look at them, they are as sulky-looking as monkies eating pears, which children want to take from them.’ His companions burst out a laughing at this expression, and casting up their eyes to see the villains, (which they

had not before thought of) went away with Maubrun and his pennon. They were about one hundred lances and three hundred archers, who advanced slowly to the opposite gate and halted.

Attacks were made on both gates with great gallantry; but the men of Rouelles, from their battlements, defended themselves with stones and darts, so that the archers and cross-bow men were unable to act with success, and many were severely wounded. However, as the barriers were defenceless, for all had retired within the walls, the English destroyed the palisades and advanced up to the gates. They battered them so as to make them shake again; but the inhabitants, aware of the mischief which might ensue from their gates being forced, came down from the battlements, and placed against them faggots and large beams of wood. Women and others brought earth and stones, with which they filled casks, and these they arranged against the gates, closing up the whole of the entrances. While this was going on, others on the battlements, over the gateways, threw down large stones and bars of iron, so that none dared venture too near, for fear of these things which killed whoever they hit. Thus did these peasants hold out their town against the English, who suffered indeed no loss until night; but they were forced to retreat to a deserted village, a long league distant, to seek for lodgings, where they remained until the morrow.

The spies sent after them brought back word that they had taken up their quarters at the village

lage of Lyrias, but it seemed as if they would, on the next day, renew the attack. The townsmen, on hearing this, said among themselves; 'The shortest follies are the best: we can never be blamed for surrendering to the duke of Lancaster or to his marshal, having, ourselves, held out one whole day against them, without advice or assistance from any gentleman whatever. This we cannot long persist in, and, having begun the attack, the enemy will, of course, renew it, since they know the way. It will, therefore, be better to surrender before they begin an assault; for, if we be taken by storm, we shall lose our lives as well as our money.'

All agreed to this: and it was determined that, if the English returned on the morrow, they would go out to meet them, and surrender the town on having their lives and properties spared. In truth, the English made their appearance shortly after sun-rise, fresh and eager to renew the attack. When they were observed, four of the principal townsmen were sent out to conclude a treaty.

As the marshal advanced under his pennon, casting his eyes around, he perceived these four men, and said; 'I believe there are some from Rouelles, who want to parley with us: make them come forward.' This was done; and when they were near the marshal, they cast themselves on their knees, and said, 'My lord, the inhabitants of Rouelles have sent us to parley with you; will you hear us?' 'Yes,' replied the marshal; what have you to say?' 'My lord, we con-

to offer the surrender of our town, if you will take us and all we possess under your protection; and we will acknowledge the duke and duchess of Lancaster for our sovereigns, in like manner as those of Corunna and Sant Jago have done.'

'I will take you, and all that belongs to you, under my protection,' answered the marshal; 'but I will not ensure your provisions, for men at arms must live.' The deputies said, that, 'that was reasonable; and the country abounded in provisions of all sorts; but wait here a moment, that we may return to the town and relate what you have said, for we will keep the agreement, and we trust you will do the same.'

'Yes, on my faith will I,' replied sir Thomas; 'but make haste back.' Upon this the four men returned to the town, to relate how sir Thomas had agreed to accept their terms, except in the article of provisions. They said, 'God grant it may be so; for you have succeeded better than we expected.' They then disencumbered the gate of the casks, beams and faggots, and opening it wide, advanced to the barriers with the keys in their hands. When the marshal approached, he and his companions dismounted; and the townsmen on their knees, presenting the keys, said,—'My lord, you are sent hither, we learn, by the duke and duchess of Lancaster: we therefore offer you the keys, and surrender our town, as agreed on between you and our men.' 'Upon these terms I accept the keys,' replied the marshal; and he and his  
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men entered the town, where they quartered themselves here and there, in the best manner they could. Sir Thomas Moreaux remained there the whole day. On the morrow, before his departure, he said to sir Thomas Maubrun, de Linieres,—‘I give this town up to you and your men : you will make a good garrison of it.’ ‘By St. George, and so I will,’ replied sir Maubrun; ‘for I like it well.’

Sir Maubrun de Linieres remained in garrison in Rouelles, having under him fixty spears and one hundred archers. Sir Thomas Moreaux returned to the duke and duchefs at Sant Jago.

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## CHAP. X.

THE MARSHAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER’S ARMY ATTACKS AND GAINS BY TREATY THE TOWN OF VILLECLOPE IN GALICIA.—THE DUKE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL TO ARRANGE AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THEM.

**S**HORTLY after the marshal’s return from Rouelles, he assembled a body of about three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and, thus accompanied, advanced into Galicia a long day’s journey from Sant Jago, and came before a town called Villeclope, which was only defended by the common people of the place. The marshal not only examined it himself but made his companions do so, and then asked if they thought it might be taken by storm. After

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Sir Maubrun de Linieres remained in garrison in Rouelles, having under him sixty spears and one hundred archers. Sir Thomas Moreaux returned to the duke and duchess at Sant Jago.

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## CHAP. X.

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‘but you will not come off so cheaply, for you have given us much trouble, and wounded our men. You see plainly you cannot hold out longer, and you must purchase your peace from us, or we return to the attack and take your town by storm.’ ‘And what is the sum you expect for our ransom?’ ‘In God’s name,’ said the marshal, ‘ten thousand francs.’ ‘You ask too much,’ replied the bailiff: ‘I offer you two thousand, for the town is poor, and has been heavily taxed.’ ‘I will not accept your offer,’ said the marshal; ‘but take time to consider of it, and do not let the place be lost for three or four thousand francs, for all must be ours. I am already blamed by my companions for having entered into any treaty with you: therefore make haste, and either pay a handsome ransom or take the consequences.’

The bailiff returned to the town, and, calling the inhabitants together, said, ‘What will you do? If you suffer the English to renew the attack, they will storm the town, put us all to death, and plunder our wealth. They demand ten thousand francs, and I have offered two, which I know is too little, and they will never take them: we must increase our offer two or three thousand more.’

Some who were much alarmed for their lives and fortunes said,—‘Bailiff, do not fail making a bargain with them; for, sooner than they shall renew the assault, we will give four thousand francs.’ ‘It is well said,’ answered the bailiff, ‘and I will again treat with them.’

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On this, the bailiff came again to the marshal, who was waiting for him; and a ransom was agreed on which, if I recollect, was six thousand francs. The gates were thrown open to the army, who quartered themselves in the town and refreshed themselves there two days.

The marshal gave the place as a garrison to sir Evan Fitzwarren, who had under him two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers; he held the place upwards of eight months: but the ransom-money went to the duke of Lancaster, the marshal retaining one thousand francs.

After this surrender of Villeclope, the marshal returned to Sant Jago, which was his head-quarters, for the duke was desirous of having him near his person. At times, he marched to the borders of Castille, to alarm the French; but in general the English did not quit Galicia, whither the king of Castille sent none to oppose them; for he was advised not to attack them with a large army, but to harass them from his garrisons, and to wait for succours from France.

The duke's counsellors said to him as follows:  
 ' My lord, it is necessary that you and the king of Portugal should have an interview to confer together. You write to each other, but that is not enough; for the French are a subtle race, and see farther into affairs than most other nations. Should they, underhand, make a peace between the king of Portugal and the king of Castille, who has at his court, as we have been informed, several of the great barons of Portugal, either by a marriage or otherwise, so as to prevent

prevent you from having any assistance from him, what would become of you? You would be in a much worse condition than ever in this country, and the Castillians would not care any thing for us, for you know they are the falsest and most gloomy people in the world. Do you imagine the king of Portugal has not thoroughly examined every thing that concerns him? and if the king of Castille would agree to a peace, allowing him for his life to reign in Portugal, and himself to be unmolested in Castille, we doubt not but he would turn his back on you, notwithstanding he has been so pressing to bring you hither. Thus will you be completely ruined. You are well acquainted with the present state of England, that it has enough to do to make head against its old enemies the French and Scots. Make the most, therefore, of the men you now have, and push on the war vigorously; for, if you expect any reinforcements from England, you will be disappointed. You were two years in obtaining what you now have, and the king, your nephew, does not feel for the interests which made you quit the country. He is young, and confides in young counsellors, which has thrown England into much peril. Have an interview, therefore, with the king of Portugal as speedily as may be, and talk to him yourself; for you will gain more in one conversation than by four months writing.'

The duke of Lancaster treasured up these words; for he knew they were the truth, and that they had loyally advised him. He answered

ed, 'What would you have me do?' We wish you would send five or six of your knights to the king of Portugal, and we advise that a baron, at least, be of the number, to remonstrate with him on public affairs; and let it be suggested that you are very anxious to have some personal conferences with him. Those whom you send will, of course, act with prudence; but, by all means, let them press for an immediate interview.' The duke consented to this proposal; and the lord Poinings, a great baron in England, sir John Bancel\*, sir John d'Ambreticourt, and sir John Sounder, bastard-brother to the constable of the army, were ordered to go to Portugal.

These lords made themselves ready, to set out from Sant Jago with one hundred spears and two hundred archers; but just as they were on the point of departure, having received their credential letters, there arrived from Portugal a knight and squire, attended by twelve lances. The knight's name was Vasco Martin d'Acunha, and the squire Fernando Martin de Merlo: they were both of the king's household, and the nearest about his person. They were comfortably lodged in Sant Jago, and presented to the duke and duchess, by each of whom they were most graciously received. They delivered their letters to their graces, which being read, they found, that in addition to the strong expressions of friendship and affection, the king of Portugal had sent two handsome ambling white mules, which gave them much pleasure. The English

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\* Q. if not lord Burnel.

embassy was not for this laid aside; it was only retarded four days. On the fifth day they set out, accompanied by the Portuguese; and the duke, as a token of friendship, sent the king of Portugal two such beautiful pilgrim-falcons as had never been seen, and six English greyhounds, excellently trained for hunting all sorts of beasts.

The English and Portuguese continued their journey through Galicia, without fear of the Castilians, for they were at too great a distance. On the road sir John d'Ambreticourt and Ferdinand de Merlo commenced an acquaintance; for the squire had, in former times, served with sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir John's uncle, and had even been with him when he died in Carantan. They continued in conversation until they arrived at the gate of Coimbra, where the king of Portugal resided.

As they were riding gently together, behind the rest of their company, they met a herald and his servant from Coimbra, on the road to the duke and his lords at Sant Jago. He was attached to the king of Portugal, who, at the time of his coronation, had given him the name of Coimbra. The herald had already conversed with the lords who were advanced; and when don Ferdinand saw him, he said; 'Here comes the king's herald, who has not been long in this country: I will inquire some news from him.' When they met, the squire said,—'Where have you been for this year past, that I have not seen you?' 'In God's name,' replied the herald, 'I have been in England to the king and his uncles, who have made me very rich.—I

went

went thence by sea to Brittany, and was present at the marriage of the duke, and at the grand feasts he gave two months in the town of Nantes, on his union with the lady Jane of Navarre\*. From thence I returned to Guernande, and by sea to Portugal.'

While he was thus speaking, the squire kept his eyes fixed on an enamelled scutcheon that hung on the herald's breast, on which were emblazoned the arms of the king of Portugal and other knights. Pointing with his finger to a coat of arms, he said,—' Ah, here are the arms of a gallant knight of Portugal, sir John Portelet, which I am happy to see; for he is a valiant knight, and was once of great service to me, which I ought always to remember.' When, taking out of his purse four florins, he gave them to the herald, who returned him thanks. Sir John d'Ambreticourt examined the scutcheon, and remembering the arms, told me some time afterward, that the arms were two chaudières fables on a field argent, with an indenture gules.

When the herald had taken his leave and departed, the squire thus spoke: ' Sir John, you noticed those fable chaudières, which the knight, to whom I am so much indebted, bore in his arms.' ' Yes, I did,' replied Sir John: ' but tell me the cause why you praise him so much: I shall willingly listen to you; for, as we ride

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\* On the decease of the duke of Brittany, she was queen of England, by her marriage with Henry IV.

on, we shall be at a loss for conversation.' 'That I will do,' replied he; 'for such a knight is worth talking of.'

'A little before the battle of Aljubarota, as the king of Portugal was marching through the country from Coimbra, he sent me to seek some of his knights, that they might be present at the engagement. I therefore rode off, attended only by a single page. In my way, I fell in with twenty Gascon lances, and I was suddenly in the midst before I perceived them, when I was made prisoner, and asked whither I was going. I said, 'To the castle du Ront\*.' 'What to do there?' 'To seek fir John Fernando Portelet; for the king wishes for his company at Aljubarota.' What! is not don Fernando, governor of Ront, with your king of Portugal?' 'No,' I replied, 'he is not; but he will hasten thither the moment he hears my message.' 'In God's name,' said they, 'he shall hear it; for we will ride thither.' On saying this, they turned about, and took the road to Ront. When they were within sight, the watch on the battlements sounded his horn, as a signal for the appearance of an enemy.

'Don Fernando asked, from what quarter they were coming? 'From the side of Oporto,' replied the watch. 'Ah, ah,' said he, 'they must be Castillians seeking adventures, and on their road to Santaren. I will go and look at them; for they may possibly tell me some news, and where the king is.' Having ordered his horse to

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\* Castle du Ront. Q. if not Ourem.

be saddled, and his pennon to be unfurled, he set off on a gallop, with only nineteen more, to meet the enemy, who had formed an ambuscade.

'The Castilian party had sent one of their men to scour over the plain, mounted on a genet, which being perceived by don Fernando, he said to a squire, 'Gallop thy genet, and see who that fellow is prancing on the plain.' The squire, sticking spurs into his horse, soon came up with the horseman, who suffered himself nearly to be overtaken; for his orders were to return instantly to the ambuscade, if followed by any one. When they were hard by, the whole party sallied forth and pursued the squire, who, being well mounted, had turned back. In the chase, they shouted 'Castille!' which convinced don Fernando, who had halted under his pennon, to wait for his squire, whom they were closely pursuing, that they were enemies; and he said,—'I am now sure they must be Castilians: let us shout 'Portugal!' for I am resolved to meet them.'

'At these words he grasped his spear, and came on full speed up to them. The first whom he met he struck to the ground, and the second shared the same fate. Of the twenty-five spears, ten were already lying on the ground: the remainder took to flight; and of them several were likewise slain or wounded. All this I witnessed with great pleasure: for I saw in it my deliverance, and, in a few minutes, was left alone. I then advanced towards don Fernando,

who, on seeing me, recollected me; for I had been formerly acquainted with him, and asked from whence I came, and what I was doing there: I then related to him my adventure, and how the Spaniards had taken me. 'And where is the king? Do you know nothing about him?' 'On my troth, sir, to-morrow he will give battle to the king of Castille; and I was sent to tell this to such knights as were ignorant of it.' 'To-morrow!' said don Fernando. 'Yes, on my faith; and, if you doubt me, ask these Castillians whom you have taken.'

'He went to his prisoners, and inquired from them if there were certainly to be a battle on the morrow. They said, that in truth there would be a general engagement on the morrow between Castille and Portugal, and that each side was making every exertion. The knight was well pleased at this intelligence, infomuch that he said to them, 'For the good news you have told me, I give you all your liberties, but surrender to me my countryman.' Thus did I regain my freedom; and, don Fernando having taken leave of those who captured me, they went their way. We returned to Ourem, where the knight made himself ready, and set off together about midnight. The distance from Ourem to Aljubarota may be about six leagues: but, to avoid the Castillians and their parties, we lengthened our road. We heard, long before we saw the armies drawn up, that there was to be a battle; and, when we approached, we saw the king of Portugal in array and the king  
of

of Castille opposite to him. At first, the knight could not distinguish the Portuguese from the Castilians, but said, 'I should imagine the largest army must be that of Castille. We rode so near that we plainly distinguished the enemy drawn up in battle array: some put themselves in motion, in pursuit of us: but I fancy they were foreigners, from Gascony. Don Fernando, observing them, said, 'Here are our enemies: let us hasten away.' The enemy advanced full gallop, shouting, 'Castille, Castille!' but our men, seeing our situation, came to our assistance: the main body, however, did not take any step in consequence.

'The king received don Fernando with great joy, and he was posted at the bridle of the king's horse, for he was one of our bravest knights. I feel myself under the greatest obligation to him for having delivered me from the hands of mine enemies; otherwise I should not have been present at this famous battle of Aljubarota. Now, did he not do me a great service?' 'On my faith, that he did,' replied sir John; 'and, from what you have said, he must be well acquainted with his business.' 'Aye, that he is,' answered the squire. Upon this, they rode on a little faster to overtake their companions; and they all arrived that night at Coimbra.

## CHAP. XI.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER HAS AN INTERVIEW  
WITH THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—A MARRIAGE  
IS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE KING AND  
THE LADY PHILIPPA, DAUGHTER OF THE  
DUKE.

THE king of Portugal was well pleased at the arrival of the English knights, and commanded that they should be comfortably lodged. When they were ready, don Martin d'Acunha and don Fernando Martin de Merlo, who were acquainted with the king's habits, introduced them to him. He received them very graciously; and after some conversation, which they knew well how to keep up, they presented the falcons and greyhounds. The king cheerfully accepted them, as he was fond of the chase. They returned the king thanks, on the part of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, for the handsome mules he had given them. The king replied, these were trifles, merely tokens of affection; such as lords desirous of maintaining love and friendship ought to make each other; but he should soon offer more splendid presents. Wine and spices were now brought, of which the English knights having partaken, they took leave of the king and returned to their lodgings, where they supped. On the morrow, they dined at the palace, and the lord Poinings and sir John Bancel were seated at the king's table.

table. Sir John d'Ambreticourt and fir John Sounder were at another table with the great barons of the kingdom, among whom was Lawrence Fongasse, squire of honour to the king, who was well known to these knights, having been acquainted with them in England; on which account he made them the best cheer in his power, and this he knew well how to do.

The dinner the king of Portugal gave to these knights was very handsome and well served: when over, they adjourned to the council chamber, and the knights, addressing themselves to the king, the count d'Acunha and the count de Novaire, spoke as follows: 'Sire, with all the compliments the duke of Lancaster has charged us to pay you, he ordered us to say, that he is very desirous of having a personal interview with you.' The king replied, he was equally anxious for it, and added, 'I beg of you to hasten every thing as much as possible, that we may have a conference together.' 'That will be very proper,' said the barons of Portugal, 'for until you meet you will never understand each other. You may then confer on the most effectual means of carrying on the war against the king of Castille.' 'That is true,' answered the knights. 'Be speedy about it, then,' said the king: 'for, if the duke wishes to see me, I want also to see him.' They then entered on other conversation; for the council was to determine when and where this meeting should take place, and inform the English knights of it. This was done. It was agreed

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the king of Portugal should go to Oporto, and the duke of Lancaster advance along the borders of Galicia; and somewhere between them and Oporto the meeting was to be held.

When the English knights had remained three days at Coimbra, they departed and followed the same road back to Sant Jago, where they related to the duke and duchess all that had passed. They were, with reason, well satisfied with it, for their affairs seemed now likely to be attended to.

When the day of meeting approached, the duke of Lancaster left his army, under the command of his marshal, at Sant Jago, and, attended by three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and sir John Holland (who had married his eldest daughter), with many knights, rode towards the frontiers of Portugal.

The king of Portugal, hearing that the duke was set out from Sant Jago, left Oporto with six hundred spears, and went to a town called in that country Moufon \*, the last town of Portugal on that side. The duke came to a town on the frontiers called Magasse †. Between Moufon and Magasse runs a small river through meadows and fields, over which is a bridge called Pont de More ‡.

On a Thursday morning, the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster had their first interview at this bridge, attended by their escorts, when they made acquaintance with each

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\* Moufon. Q.    † Magasse. Q.    ‡ Pont de More. Q.

other.

other. On the king of Portugal's side had been built a bower, covered with leaves, in which the duke was entertained at dinner by the king. It was a handsome one; and the bishop of Coimbra, the bishop of Oporto, as also the archbishop of Braganza, were seated at the king's table with the duke, and a little below him were sir John Holland and sir Henry Beaumont. There were many minstrels, and this entertainment lasted until night.

The king of Portugal was that day clothed in white lined with crimson, with a red cross of St. George, being the dress of the order of Avis, of which he was grandmaster\*. When the people had elected him their king, he declared he would always wear that dress in honour of God and St. George, and his attendants were all dressed in white and crimson. When it became late, they took leave of each other, with the engagement of meeting again on the morrow. The king went to Mouson, and the duke to Magasse, which places were only separated by the river and meadows. On the Friday, after hearing mass, they mounted their horses, and rode over the Pont de More, to the spot where they had met the preceding day. The house which had been erected for this occasion was the fairest and greatest that had been ever seen there. The king and duke had each their apartments hung with cloth and covered with

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\* Froissart mistakes the colour of the cross: it was green, and borne on the left side.

carpets as convenient as if the king had been at Lisbon or the duke in London.

Before dinner, they had a conference on the state of their affairs, how they should carry on the war, and when they should commence it.

They resolved to order their marshals to continue their attacks during the winter, which the king was to pass in Portugal, and the duke at Sant Jago; and it was settled that, early in March, they would unite their forces, and march to combat the king of Castille wherever he might be, and whoever he might have with him; for the English and Portuguese, when united, would be full thirty thousand men.

When this had been determined, the king's council introduced the subject of a marriage with their king; for the country was very desirous he would marry, as it was now time, and by it they would be much strengthened; and they thought he could not make a better choice for himself, nor one more agreeable to them, than by intermarrying with the house of Lancaster. The duke, who saw the attachment the king and the Portuguese had for him, and that he had need of their assistance, as he was come from England to Portugal to regain his kingdom of Castille, replied with a smile, addressing the king; 'Sir king, I have at Sant Jago two girls, and I will give you the choice to take which of them shall please you best. Send thither your council, and I will return her with them.' 'Many thanks,' said the king: 'you offer me more than I ask. I will leave my cousin, Catharine,

tharine, of Castille; but I demand your daughter Philippa, in marriage, whom I will espouse and make my queen.'

At these words, the conference broke up, as it was dinner-time. They were seated as on the preceding day, and most sumptuously and plentifully served, accordingly to the custom of that country. After dinner, the king and duke returned to their lodgings.

On the Saturday after mass, they again mounted their horses, and returned to Pont de More in grand array. The duke this day entertained at dinner the king and his attendants. His apartments were decorated with the richest tapestry, with his arms emblazoned on it, and as splendidly ornamented as if he had been at Hertford, Leicester, or at any of his mansions in England, which very much astonished the Portuguese. Three bishops and one archbishop were seated at the upper table; the bishops of Lisbon, of Oporto, of Coimbra, and archbishop of Braganza. The king of Portugal was placed at the middle, and the duke somewhat below him: a little lower than the duke, the count d'Acunha and the count de Novaire. At the head of the second table was the deputy grandmaster of Avis: then the grandmaster of St. James, in Portugal, and the grandmaster of St. John, don Gallopes Portelet, don Fernando his son, sir Alvarez d'Acunha, Vasco Martin d'Acunha, the Podich de Senede, Vasco Martin de Merlo, all great barons. The abbot of Aljubarota, the abbot of Saint Mary, in Estremadura, sir Alvarez Pereira, marshal of Portugal,

tugal, John Radighos Pereira, John James de Sylva, John Radighos de Sar, and many other Portuguese knights were there seated; for not one Englishman was at the table that day, but served their guests. There were numbers of minstrels, who played their parts well; and the duke gave them and the heralds one hundred nobles each.

When this festival was ended, they took a most friendly leave of each other, until they should meet again. The king returned to Oporto, and the duke to Magasse, from whence he journeyed towards St. Jago. The count de Novaire escorted him with one hundred Portuguese lances, until he was out of all danger, when he took leave and returned to Portugal.

The duchess was very impatient for the duke's return, to hear how the conferences had passed; of course, you may suppose, she received him with joy. She asked what he thought of the king of Portugal. 'On my faith,' replied the duke, 'he is an agreeable man, and has the appearance of being a valiant one, and I think he will reign powerfully; for he is much beloved by his subjects, who say they have not been so fortunate in a king for these hundred years. He is but twenty-six years old, and, like the Portuguese, strong, and well formed in his limbs and body to go through much labour and pain.' 'Well, and what was done in regard to the marriage?' said the duchess. 'I have given him one of my daughters.' 'Which?' asked the duchess. 'I offered him the choice of *Catharine* or *Philippa*; for which he thanked me much,

much, and has fixed on Philippa.' 'He is in the right,' said the duchefs; 'for my daughter Catharine is too young for him.'

The duke and duchefs passed the time as well as they could: winter was approaching, though in Galicia the severity of that season is scarcely felt; for it is always there so warm, that some fruits are eatable even in March, and beans, pease and grafs, are high and flourishing in February. Their hay-harvest is over before midsummer-day; and, by that time, their corn is, in several places, completely ripe.

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## CHAP. XII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER'S MARSHAL GAINS FOR HIM SEVERAL PLACES IN GALICIA.—THE CONDUCT OF THE KING OF CASTILLE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the duke of Lancaster lived quietly at Sant Jago with his duchefs and children, it was not so with his army; for the commanders made frequent excursions over the country, conquering towns and castles, of which, for a time, they held possession. I will faithfully narrate the manner in which they did this, and the names of the towns they gained; for I was told all the particulars of the campaign by those English knights who had been actors in these conquests; but more particularly by that gallant knight of Portugal whom I have before mentioned, who, in the most friendly manner, entered into all the details

details at Middleburgh, in Zealand, where he was, on his way to Prussia. I have already told his name, but I will repeat it: he was called John Fernando Portelet, who informed me as follows:—

‘ When the duke of Lancaster was returned to Sant Jago, from the frontiers of Portugal, sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal of his army, said to him, that he was unwilling to remain in idleness; and that, since they were in an enemy’s country, he would make some excursions to conquer towns or castles, and employ the army, who were very anxious for it.

‘ He gave his orders accordingly, and declared he would penetrate into Galicia farther than he had hitherto been, and would not leave town nor castle behind him, without their submitting to the duke. He began his march from Sant Jago, with six hundred lances and twelve hundred archers, and took the road to Pontevedra, a good town of Galicia, which held out for the king of Castille.

‘ The townsmen were well aware of the intended attack; for all the inhabitants of the flat countries fled before the English, to different towns, to save themselves and fortunes. When the marshal came before the place, the inhabitants were in deep consultation, whether to surrender or to defend themselves, but they were not unanimous. The lower sorts of inhabitants wanted to surrender instantly: the bailiff, (who had been ordered thither by the king to guard and defend it) with those who were the richest, wished to hold out; for they said, that an instant

stant surrender would not redound to their honour nor profit. They were still in debate, when the watch sounded his horn, to announce the arrival of the English. This broke up the assembly; and every one ran to the battlements, armed with stones, darts, javelins, with a full determination to defend the place, and not to surrender it until pushed to extremities.

When the marshal and his companions arrived at Pontevedra, they dismounted and gave their horses to their servants. They drew up their men for instantly attacking it. The archers were ranged around the walls with bows bent for shooting; and men at arms, well armed and shielded, descended into the ditch. On the marshal's trumpet sounding, the assault commenced; and those who were in the ditch scrambled up to the walls, with pick-axes and iron crows to batter them.

The townsmen showered down on them stones and flints, to their great annoyance: they would have done more, if the archers had not made such good use of their bows: few, after some time, dared to shew themselves on the bulwarks, for they killed and wounded many. The bailiff of the town was so severely struck by an arrow, which pierced his helmet and head, that he was forced to be carried to his house. The ill-intentioned, in the place, were not sorry at this, because he would not consent to a surrender. This accident, however, did not cause the defence to be weakened; on the contrary, they were the more active; and the attack continued until night, when the enemy  
founded

founded a retreat. Many were wounded on each side. The English returned to their quarters, fully determined to renew the attack on the morrow, and to gain the place by capitulation or storm.

‘During the night, the inhabitants held a meeting, and said; ‘We are mad, thus to suffer ourselves to be killed and wounded for nothing. Why do not we act like the other towns, which have surrendered? They have yielded themselves up to the duke of Lancaster and the lady Constance, daughter to king don Pedro, on condition that, if the rest of the towns in Spain acknowledge him for king, they will do the same: in which they have acted wisely, for they have remained unmolested.’ ‘In God’s name,’ said others, ‘we wanted to do so, but our bailiff persuaded us to the contrary, for which he has paid severely; for there is a great chance if he will ever recover from the wound in his head.’ ‘Let us go,’ said some, ‘and speak with him, and ask how we had best act now; for the English will certainly return to-morrow, and conquer us by fair or foul means.’ This proposition was adopted, and twelve of the principal townsmen went to the bailiff’s house, whose name was, I believe, Dyontable du Lyon. They found him lying on a couch, his wound having been just dressed; and, as it had so lately happened, he did not suffer much from it, and made good cheer to those among them whom he knew, and had come to see him. He inquired how the attack had been carried on, and if they had well defended themselves.

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‘They said,—‘Tolerably well; and, thanks to God, no one, excepting himself, of any consequence, had been hurt; but to-morrow will be the day, for we are assured we shall be very hard pushed; and such ignorant and simple persons as ourselves will never be able to withstand their attacks. We therefore come to you for advice how to act. The English menace us greatly; and, should they win the place by storm, they will put all to the sword, and plunder the town.’

‘In the name of God,’ replied Dyontable du Lyon, ‘you can never be blamed for surrendering; but treat prudently, and manage by all means to avoid being taken by storm. Offer to put yourselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster on the same terms with those of Corunna, for no Englishman ever entered that town. They sent out to them provisions for money; and, if you will follow my advice, you will do the same. I believe they will be glad to accept your submission, for there are many other towns in Galicia to conquer, and they will not hold out for trifles.’ ‘You say well,’ replied the townsmen, ‘and we will do as you advise.’ They then left him, and passed the night as well as they could. By sun-rise, on the morrow, they had properly instructed seven of the principal inhabitants, whom they sent out of the town to treat with sir Thomas Moreaux: they met him on his march to renew the attack.

‘They cast themselves on their knees, and, having saluted him, said,—‘My lord, we are  
sent

sent hither by the inhabitants of Pontevedra, who offer to place themselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms which those of Corunna have obtained. This they have ordered us to tell you, and also that you may have provision in plenty on paying a fair price. It is the wish of those who have sent us, that you push them no farther, and that neither yourself nor any from you enter the place armed and by force; but that if you or any others be desirous of courteously entering the town, they shall be welcome.'

'The marshal had with him one who understood perfectly the Galician tongue, who repeated to him in English all that had been said. The marshal replied,—'Return quickly to your town, and let those who have sent you come to the barriers. I will grant them a respite until to-morrow at sun-rise, should we not make a satisfactory agreement.' They promised to comply with this command, and departed. When arrived at the barriers, they found there the greater part of the townsmen waiting, to whom they told all that had passed between them and the marshal, adding, 'The marshal will soon be here himself: therefore, if you do not think yourselves of sufficient consequence to parley with him, hasten those hither whom you may wish for.'

'As the principal inhabitants were at the barriers, they saw sir Thomas Moreaux, with about forty lances, advancing, who on his arrival dismounted and his companions likewise. He addressed them as follows: 'You, the inhabitants of Pontevedra,

Pontevedra, have sent to us seven of your brother townsmen, and persons in whom I am satisfied you have confidence: they have told us that you are willing to submit yourselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms which those of Corunna have obtained, but that you wish to have no other governors but yourselves. Now tell me, I beg of you, what sovereignty my lord would have if he had not his own officers in the town? When you pleased you would acknowledge him for your king, and when you pleased disavow him. Know, that it is my intention, as well as that of those around me, to give you a wise, valiant and prudent governor, who will defend you and do ample justice to all alike, and I mean to thrust out the officers of the king of Castille: let me hear, therefore, if you consent to these terms, for such are our fixed resolutions.'

'They requested leave to consult together, and having done so, replied; 'My lord, we have the fullest confidence in you, but we are afraid of pillagers; for we have formerly been so ill treated by persons of that description, when sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the Bretons first came hither: they left us not a rag, and we are in dread of the like happening again.'

'You need not,' said sir Thomas, 'for no pillager shall ever enter your town. You shall lose nothing by us: all we want is your obedience.' This speech settled the business, and sir Thomas and his company entered the town, his army taking up their quarters in tents and huts without

the walls. The inhabitants sent them twenty-four horse loads of wine, as much bread, and poultry in abundance for the principal officers.

‘The marshal remained the whole day in Pontevedra, to arrange a government for the duke of Lancaster. He appointed an honest Galician governor, who had followed the dukes to England, with whom the inhabitants were satisfied. On the morrow, he returned to his army, and in a council determined to march against another town that was rebellious, called Dighos,\* six leagues distant from Pontevedra. They instantly began their march; and, when within two leagues of the place, they sent forward to know if they would surrender, as Pontevedra and other towns had done, which if they refused, they might rest assured they should be attacked in the morning.

‘The inhabitants paid no attention to this menace, and said, that they had often had assaults, but had never been the worse for them. When this answer was carried to the marshal, he swore ‘by St. George they should be attacked in earnest. What! are the scoundrels so proud to send me such an answer?’ They passed the night comfortably with what they had brought with them, and on the morrow by sun-rise were on their march to Dighos. It was near ten o’clock when they came before the town, and each party made preparations for the attack and defence. Dighos, though not a large town, is sufficiently strong; and had there

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\* Dighos Q. if not Vigo.

been within it some knights and squires, who understood their profession, I do not believe the English would have gained it so easily as they did; for the moment the inhabitants felt the arrows of the English and saw many killed and wounded by them, for they were badly armed, they were panic-struck, and said,—‘Why do we let ourselves be killed and wounded for the king of Castille? We may as well have the duke of Lancaster, who married the daughter of don Pedro, for our king, as the son of don Henry of Transtamare. We must know, that if we be taken by storm, our lives will be forfeited and our town plundered, and there does not seem succour coming to us from any quarter. A month ago, we sent a remonstrance to the king of Castille at Burgos on our situation, and the peril we should be in, if the English marched hither, as we heard they intended doing. The king indeed spoke to the French knights who are with him on the matter, but no orders were given for any men at arms to be sent hither as a garrison, any more than to other parts of Galicia, which plainly shewed it was indifferent to the king whether we were won or not. He told our envoys to return and do as well as they could. This proves he does not wish us to be slain, nor the place taken by storm.’

‘On saying this, some of the townsmen mounted over the gateway, and from a window made signs they wished for a parley, to treat of peace. They were observed; and the marshal, going thither, asked what they wanted. They said; ‘Mar-

shal, order your men to retire: we will submit ourselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, on the same terms as those of Corunna and other towns have obtained; and if you want provisions, you shall courteously have them from us; but we will not suffer any one to enter the town by force of arms. This is our proposal, and by this we mean to abide.' The marshal was advised to answer,—'I agree to your terms; but I must appoint an able governor, to counsel and defend you, should there be any need of it.' They answered, they would also admit of this.

'Thus was the treaty concluded; and, on the assault ceasing, the army retreated from before it into the plain. The marshal, sir Evan Fitz-warren, sir John Abuurelle,\* the lord de Pommiers and sir John d'Ambreticourt entered the town to refresh themselves, where they remained the whole day. Those without the walls received bread, wine and other provision from the town in abundance.

'After the conquest of Dighos, where the lords had availed themselves of the opportunity to refresh themselves at their ease, for it is situated in a rich country, and had nominated as governor an English squire called Thomas Albery, a prudent and valiant man, to whom they gave twelve archers for his defence, they marched from thence skirting the mountains and borders of Castille, towards the large town of Bayona. When they

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\* I imagine this must be intended for sir Hugh lord Burrell. See Dugdale.

had advanced within two leagues of the place, they halted and took up their quarters for the night. On the morrow, they dislodged and marched in battle-array to Bayona. When near, they formed themselves into two divisions, and sent forward a herald to learn the intentions of the inhabitants, whether they would surrender without being assaulted? The herald had not far to go; and, when arrived at the barriers, he found plenty of common people there, though badly armed, to whom he delivered his message; for he well understood their language, being a Portuguese. His name was Coimbra, and attached to the king of Portugal. ‘You men of the town,’ said he, ‘what are your intentions? Will you suffer yourselves to be attacked, or will you surrender quietly to your sovereigns, the duke and duchess of Lancaster? My lord marshal and his companions send me hither to know what you mean to do.’

‘Upon this, they collected together and began to talk aloud, saying,—‘What shall we do? Shall we defend ourselves, or surrender?’ An old man who had learnt experience, from having seen more than they had, addressed them,—‘My good sirs, in our situation we must not hold long councils; and the English are very courteous in thus allowing us time to deliberate. You are aware that we have not any hopes of succour; for the king of Castille, who knows our situation well, and has done so since the arrival of the duke and duchess at Corunna, has not provided any resources for us, nor does he seem inclined so to do. If we therefore, allow ourselves to be attacked, the town

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is so large and ill fortified, we cannot guard the whole; and the English are subtle in war: they will exert themselves to conquer us, in hopes of plunder; for they are, like all men at arms, eager to enrich themselves; and this town is supposed to be more rich than in fact it is. I therefore think it most advisable that we quietly submit to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, and, by not foolishly resisting, lose more, but obtain peace on advantageous terms. This is the advice I give you.'

'They replied, they would follow it; and, as he was a man of consideration in Bayona, they requested him to answer the herald. 'I will cheerfully do so; but we must give him some money, which will bind him to our interests, and induce him to make a favourable report to his lords.'

'On this he advanced to the herald, and said; 'You will return to your lords, and assure them we are willing to put ourselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, in the same manner other towns in Galicia have done, or may do. Now, go and do our business well, and we will give you twenty florins.'

'The herald was delighted on hearing this speech, and the promise of twenty florins; and said, 'Where are the florins?' They were instantly paid down, and he set off, gaily, to rejoin the English army.

'The marshal and his companions, on seeing him return, asked what news he had brought? 'Do the townsmen mean to surrender, or wait the attack?' 'By my faith, my lords,' replied the herald,

herald, 'they have no such intentions. They desire me to inform you, they are willing to submit themselves to the duke and duchess, on similar terms to those which other towns have obtained; and if you will go thither they will gladly receive you.' 'Well,' said the marshal, 'it is better we thus gain the place than by assault; for our men, at least, will neither be wounded nor slain.' The marshal and his army marched at a foot's pace to the town, where he dismounted; and went to the barrier and gate. There were numbers of people assembled, but their whole armours were not worth ten francs, to see the English; and the person who had given the answer to the herald was there also, to conclude a treaty. The moment the herald perceived him, he said to the marshal,—'My lord, speak to that elderly man who is bowing to you, for he has the greatest weight in the place.'

'The marshal advanced, and said,—'Now, what have you to say? Will you surrender yourselves to my lord, the duke of Lancaster, and to his duchess, as to your legal sovereigns?' 'Yes, my lord,' replied the old man: 'we surrender ourselves to you, and acknowledge them for our lords, as other towns in Galicia have done; and, if you and your companions please to enter the town, you are welcome; but on condition, that should you want provision, you do not seize it, but loyally pay for whatever you may take.'

'I agree to this,' said the marshal; 'for we only desire the love and obedience of the country; but you must swear, that should the king of Castille

Castille come in person, or send hither any troops, you will defend yourselves boldly against him and all his allies.' 'We willingly swear this; and should he come himself, or send any troops, we will shut our gates against him or them, and inform you of it. Should you prove the strongest, we will remain steady to your interest; for you will never find any deceit in us.'

'I am satisfied,' answered the marshal, 'and do not require more. Before the expiration of the year, the dispute will be decided; and the crown of Castille, Cordova, Galicia and Seville, will fall to the strongest; for, by the end of August, there will be such numbers of men at arms in Castille as have not been seen for these hundred years.' 'Well, my lord,' answered the elder, 'let happen what may, and the right fall where it ought, we of Galicia venture to wait the event.'

'Upon this, the holy sacrament was brought, and those who governed the town swore upon it to behave loyally and faithfully, like good subjects, to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, and to acknowledge them as their sovereigns, in the same manner as other towns had done. The marshal, in the name of the duke of Lancaster, received them as his subjects, and swore to defend and govern them in peace and justice. When all this had been done, the barriers and gates were thrown open, when all entered who chose, and lodged themselves where they could. They remained there four days, to recruit themselves and horses, and also to wait for fair weather; for, during these

these four days, it rained incessantly, and the rivers were much swelled. There are, in Galicia, many rivers which are so greatly increased by the mountain-torrents, that they are very dangerous to pass. While waiting for a change in the weather, they held a council, whether they should march for Befances\* or Ribadane,† which is a strong town, and inhabited by the most insolent and treacherous people in all Galicia.

‘On the fifth day, the English dislodged from Bayona, and took the field. The weather was now temperate, and the rivers, to their great joy, reduced to their usual size. They rode towards Ribadavia without any opposition; and, as no one came out against them, they thought themselves lords of Galicia. They arrived near the town, with a large train of baggage, horses and victuallers, and encamped in a grove of olive trees on a handsome plain, about half a league from the place. They resolved to send a herald to parley with the townsmen, before they made any preparations for the attack; for the marshal well knew they were the falsest and worst people in all Castille, extensive as it is; and that they paid no regard to the king, nor to any one but themselves, depending on the strength of their town.

‘The herald, before he set out, was charged to learn their intentions; but, when he came to the barriers he found them and the gate closed, He shouted and called, but received no answer

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\* Q Betancos. † Ribadane,—probably intended for Ribadavia.  
whatever.

whatever. He saw indeed, several pass backwards and forwards on the battlements; but for all he could do, not one would come and speak with him, though he remained an hour thus bawling to them. Finding he could not obtain a hearing, he said to himself,—‘ I fancy these men of Ribadavia have had some communication with those of Bayona, who are vexed they should have given me twenty florins for so little trouble, and want to make me here pay for it. By holy Mary! I believe they wish to keep me until it be late, and then seize and hang me.’ On saying this, he remounted his horse, and returned to the marshal and his army. On his arrival, he was asked what news, and whether the inhabitants of Ribadavia would surrender as the other towns had done, or force them to the attack. ‘ By my troth,’ replied the herald, ‘ I know not what they mean to do; for they are so proud, that though I bawled to them for an hour, they never deigned to give me any answer.’ Sir John Burnel then said, ‘ Hast thou seen no one? Perhaps they are fled, and have left their town for fear of us.’ ‘ Fled!’ replied the herald: ‘ begging your pardon, my lord, they disdain to do such a thing as fly; and before you conquer them, they will give you more plague than all the other towns in Galicia together. Know that there are plenty of men within it; for I saw them when I called out, ‘ Listen to me, listen to me! I am a herald whom my lord marshal has sent hither to parley and treat with you;’ but they gave me no answer, only staring at me, and bursting out in laughter.’

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‘Ah, the insolent scoundrels!’ said the marshal: ‘by St. George, they shall be well punished for this; and, unless my lord of Lancaster shall order otherwise, never will I quit this place until I have reduced it under his obedience. Let us now eat and drink to refresh ourselves, and then march to the assault; for I will see this town nearer, and what is its strength, that makes the scoundrels thus insolent, and induces them to hold us so cheap.’

‘When they had finished their repast, they mounted their horses, and, with trumpets sounding, rode gently on, for the weather was as sweet as in the month of May. On coming before the place, some knights and squires, to make a display galloped up to the barriers, where they found a large body of cross-bowmen drawn up in front of the gate, who by their shooting killed and wounded many horses. The archers then advanced, and, posting themselves on the banks of the ditch, and at the barriers, attacked the cross-bowmen. The assault was severe and lasted a considerable time; for the town was tolerably strong, and difficult to be conquered. One side is situated on a perpendicular rock, impossible to be mounted: the other, indeed, is on the plain, but surrounded by wide ditches, which though not filled with water, cannot easily be crossed.

‘The knights and squires, however, did cross them, and ascended the banks to the walls, with targets on their heads, to defend themselves from the arrows or whatever might be thrown down from the battlements. The archers shot so well, that scarcely any dared shew themselves; and  
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this attack was long continued, many on each side being killed or wounded. Towards evening, it ceased, on the trumpets founding the retreat; and the English returned to their camp, where they made themselves comfortable, and attended to their wounded. Thierry de Soumain was so badly wounded in the arm, at the barriers, by a bolt from a cross-bow, that it was necessary to have it forced through the arm: he was upwards of a month unable to use it, and obliged to bear it in a scarf.

‘While the marshal of the duke of Lancaster’s army was thus overrunning and turning Galicia to his interest, the duke and duchess, with their children, resided quietly at Sant Jago. They heard frequently from the king of Portugal, as a continual intercourse was kept up between them on their mutual affairs.

‘King John of Castille held his court at Valadolid, attended by the French knights, whom he frequently consulted on the state of his kingdom; for he was perfectly acquainted with every thing that was passing around him. He said to them, — ‘My fair sirs, I greatly marvel that no succour comes to me from France, to assist me in my distress; for my country will be lost, if no reinforcements arrive to prevent it. The English keep the field; and I know for truth, that the duke of Lancaster and king of Portugal have had an interview, and that the last is to marry one of the duke’s daughters, for she has been betrothed to him; and, as soon as this marriage shall have taken place, you will see them unite together and  
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enter my kingdom, and, when united, they will prove too much for me.'

'The French knights, to comfort him, replied, — 'Do not be uneasy: if the English gain on one side they lose on another. We have certain intelligence, that the king of France, with upwards of an hundred thousand armed men, has at this moment invaded England, to conquer and destroy that whole country. When that shall be accomplished, and England reduced to a state of subjection from whence it can never rise, the king of France and his army will embark on board their navy, which is so considerable, and disembark during the course of the summer at Corunna. He will re-conquer in one month more than you have lost during the year, and surround the duke of Lancaster in such manner that you will see him fly to Portugal. Thus will you be revenged of your enemies; for be assured, that if France were not at this moment occupied with the conquest of England, you would have had, some time since, three or four thousand lances from thence. The king of France, his uncles and council, have a great affection for you, and are very anxious to put an end to your war. Never mind if the English keep the field, and borrow from you a little of your kingdom: before St. John's day shall come, they will be forced to restore the whole of it back to you.'

'Such were the conversations that frequently passed at Validolid between the king of Castille and his council, with the French knights. The king,

king, having such an opinion of them, believed all they said, and took comfort. They indeed thought what they had said was truth; for they concluded the king of France had invaded England, according to the rumours spread throughout Castille. You must know that the duke of Lancaster did not hear from his people one quarter of what was told them by pilgrims and merchants from Flanders; and, though the king of Portugal wrote frequently to inquire after the duke's health, these rumours prevented him from hastening his preparations, and from demanding the lady Philippa for his queen. His council said, that as all the intelligence from France and Flanders agreed England to be in a most perilous state of being destroyed, neither the alliance nor marriage with the duke of Lancaster or his daughter, would be of any advantage to him, and that he should dissemble his thoughts, but still preserve an outward appearance of great affection to the duke and duchess, by letters and otherwise, until he should see what turn affairs would take.'

We will now for a while leave speaking of Spain and Portugal, and return to France.

## CHAP. XIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO LILLE, WITH THE INTENT TO INVADE ENGLAND.—SIR SIMON BURLEY ADVISES THE REMOVAL OF THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS A BECKET FROM CANTERBURY TO DOVER CASTLE, FOR FEAR OF THE FRENCH.

AT this period (1386,) the number of ships, galleys and vessels of every description, which had been collected to carry over to England the king of France and his army, were so great, that the oldest man then living had never seen nor heard of the like. Knights and squires were arming on all sides, and, when they quitted their homes, they said,—‘We will invade these cursed English, who have done such mischief to France, and now avenge ourselves for the losses they have caused us by the death of our fathers, brothers or friends.’ It was twelve weeks before all the purveyances of the different lords were ready and embarked, so grandly had they provided themselves. The report was kept up for some time in Flanders, that the king would be there on the morrow, to hasten them. Men were continually arriving from Gascony, Armagnac, the Toulousain, Bigorre, Comminges, Auvergne, Berry, Limousin, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, Touraine, Blois, Orleans, Beauce, Normandy, Picardy, and from every province in France,

France, who quartered themselves in Flanders and Artois.

When the middle of August came, which was the time fixed on for the invasion taking place, in order the more to hasten those from the distant parts of the realm; and, to shew that the king was in earnest to embark, he took leave of queen Blanche, the duchess of Orleans and the other princesses. He heard a solemn mass in the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, and it was his intention, when he should quit Paris, never to re-enter it until he had landed in England; and of this all the principal cities and towns were persuaded.

The king of France went to Senlis, whither he was accompanied by his queen: the duke of Berry was in Berry, though his purveyances were collecting in Flanders and at Sluys, like the others. The duke of Burgundy was also in his own country, but he bade adieu to his duchess and children, and set off for Flanders, meaning to take leave of his aunt, the duchess of Brabant, in his way thither. On his departure from Burgundy, he travelled in great pomp and magnificence, attended by the admiral of France and the lord Guy de la Trimouille, unto Brussels, where the duchess and her ladies received him and his company with great joy. He tarried there two days, and then went to Mons in Hainault, where he found his daughter madame d'Ostrevant, duke Albert, and his son the lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, who entertained them handsomely, and conducted the duke

duke to Valenciennes, where he was lodged in the apartments of the count, and duke Albert at the hôtel of Vicongneras.

The duke of Burgundy, on leaving Valenciennes, went to Douay and Arras, where the duchess was waiting for him. From Senlis the king of France came to Compiègne, Noyon, Peronne, Bapaume and Arras; and there were such numbers of men at arms pouring into those countries from all quarters, that every thing was destroyed or devoured without a farthing being paid for any thing. The poor farmers, who had filled their barns with grain, had only the straw, and, if they complained, were beaten or killed. The fish-ponds were drained of fish, and the houses pulled down for firing, so that if the English had been there, they could not have committed greater waste than this French army did. They said, 'We have not at present any money, but shall have enough on our return, when we will pay for all.' The farmers, not daring to speak out, cursed them inwardly, on seeing them seize what was intended for their families; and said, 'Go, go to England, and may never a soul of you come back!'

The king of France arrived at Lille, with his two uncles of Burgundy and Bourbon; but the duke of Berry still remained behind, in his own country, arranging his affairs. With the king were the duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the count d'Armagnac, the count de Savoye, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Geneve, the count de St. Pol, the count

d'Eu, the count de Longueville, the lord de Coucy, sir William de Namur, and so many of the great lords of France that I can never name them. It was said that twenty thousand knights and squires were to embark for England, which was indeed a goodly company, with about the same number of cross-bows, including the Genoese, and twenty thousand stout varlets.

Sir Oliver de Clifton was still in Brittany making his preparations, and equipping his fleet at the port of Treguier, from whence he intended to embark his wooden town, that was to be put together, and erected on his landing in England, as you have before heard. The flower of Breton chivalry was to accompany the constable, such as the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Rays, de Beaumanoir, de Laval, de Rochefort, de Malestroit, the viscount de Combor, sir John de Malestroit, the lord de Dinant, the lord d'Ancenis, and five hundred spears, all picked men. The constable had always declared, that no one ought to be employed on this expedition if he were not a good man at arms and such as could be depended on. He had said to the admiral,—‘Be careful not to suffer any boys or servants to embark on board the fleet, for they will do us more harm than good.’ And the knights, unless they were of high rank, or had hired vessels for themselves, were not allowed to take with them more than one horse and one servant. To say the truth, their arrangements were very well made: and it was the opinion of many, that if the army could have been land-

ed together at the place they had fixed on in Orwell bay, the whole country would have been thrown into confusion. Indeed, I believe there was little doubt of it; for the great lords, such as prelates, abbots, and rich citizens were panic-struck, but the commonalty and poorer sort held it very cheap. Such knights and squires as were not rich, but eager for renown, were delighted, and said to each other,—‘ Lord, what fine times are coming, since the king of France intends to visit us! He is a valiant king and of great enterprise: there has not been such a one in France these three hundred years. He will make his people good men at arms; and blessed may he be for thinking to invade us; for certainly we shall be all slain or made powerfully rich: one or other must happen.’

If the preparations for this invasion were great in France, those in England, for its defence, were not less so, as I have before mentioned, and will therefore slightly return to it.

The taxes in England were equally heavy with those in France; but though they were very oppressive, the common people said they ought not to complain, for they were raised for the defence of the country, and paid to knights and squires to guard their lands, and they were their labourers, who provided them with food, and the sheep from whom they took the wool; but, if England should be conquered, they would be the greatest losers. No one was exempted from the payment of these taxes, so that two millions of florins were raised for the defence of the coun-

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try, and paid into the hands of the archbishop of York, the earl of Oxford, sir Nicholas Bamber, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Simon Burley, sir Peter Gouloufre, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, and others of the king's privy council, who were appointed receivers and paymasters of the above sum, for the king's uncles were not consulted in the business. They would not interfere, nor by so doing throw the kingdom into trouble, but exerted themselves to the utmost in putting all the coast in a good state of defence; for they most assuredly thought the king of France would attempt to land his army in England during the course of the summer.

The before-named receivers did in the king's name as they thought proper in respect to this tax; but the earl of Oxford was the most active, and made the greatest advantage of it. Every thing was done by him, and without his consent nothing; for which, when this alarm was over, the people were much dissatisfied, and wanted to know what had become of the large sums that had been raised; and the principal cities and towns, urged on by the king's uncles, would have an account how they had been disbursed, as I will relate in proper time and place, for I wish not that any thing should be forgotten in this history.

Sir Simon Burley was governor of Dover-castle, and, from his situation, received frequent intelligence from France by the fishermen of the town, who related to him what they heard from the French.

French fishermen, as they were often obliged to adventure as far as Wissant or Bologne to obtain good fish. When the fishermen from France met them at sea, they told them enough, and more than they knew; for, though there were wars, between France and England, they were never interrupted in their pursuits, nor attacked each other, but, on the contrary, gave mutual assistance, and bought or sold, according as either had more fish than they were in want of; for, if they were to meddle in the national quarrels, there would be no fishing, and none would attempt it unless supported by men at arms. Sir Simon learnt from the fishermen that the king of France was absolutely determined on the invasion; that he intended to land one division at or near Dover, and another at Sandwich, and that his forces were immense. He, as well as the rest of England, believed all this was true; and one day he set out for Canterbury to visit the abbey, which is very large and handsome; near it is Christchurch, which is also rich and powerful.

The abbot inquired, 'What news?' and Sir Simon told him all he knew, adding, 'that the shrine of St. Thomas, so respectable and rich, was not safe in Canterbury, for the town was not strong;\* and if the French should come, some of the pillagers, through avarice, would make for Canterbury, which they would plunder, as well

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\* The walls of Canterbury were much out of repair; and there is an order now existing for their reparation, from the court of Chancery, in the 19th year of Richard II.—*Hasted's Kent.*

as your abbey, and make particular enquiries after the shrine, and will take it away, to your great loss. I would therefore advise, that you have it carried to Dover-castle, where it will be perfectly safe, though all England were lost.' The abbot and all the convent were so much angered at this speech, though meant well, that they replied,—'How! sir Simon, would you wish to despoil this church of its jewel? If you are afraid yourself, gain courage, and shut yourself up in your castle of Dover, for the French will not be bold enough, nor in sufficient force, to adventure themselves so far.' This was the only answer he had; but sir Simon persisted so long in his proposition, that the common people grew discontented, and held him for an ill-inclined person, which, as I shall relate, they afterwards shewed more plainly. Sir Simon made but a short stay and returned to Dover.

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#### CHAP. XIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE VISITS HIS FLEET AT SLUYS.—THE KING OF ARMENIA CROSSES TO ENGLAND, TO ATTEMPT A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO KINGS.—THE ANSWER HE RECEIVES.

**T**HE king of France, to shew his impatience for the invasion and his dislike of being at too great a distance, came to Sluys. The report was now daily current in Flanders and Artois, 'The king

king will embark Saturday, Tuesday or Thursday.' Every day of the week they said, 'He will embark to-morrow, or the day after.' The duke of Touraine, the king's brother, the bishop of Beauvais, chancellor, and other great lords had taken leave of the king at Lille, and returned to Paris. I believe, indeed it was assured me for fact, that the duke was appointed regent during the king's absence, in conjunction with the count de Blois and other principal barons, who had not been ordered on the invasion.

The duke of Berry was still behind, though he was advancing slowly, for he had no great desire to go to England. The king of France and duke of Burgundy were much vexed at his delay, and wished his arrival: however, the embarkation of stores continued at a vast expense to the great lords; for what was worth only one franc they were made to pay four; and those who were hoping speedily to cross over valued not their money in making preparations, but seemed desirous to rival each other in expense.

If the principal lords were well paid, those of inferior rank suffered for it, as there was a month's pay due to them, for which the paymaster of the forces was unwilling to account; and he and the clerks of the treasury told them to wait another week, and they should be satisfied. Thus were they put off from week to week; and when they made them any payments it was only for eight days, when eight weeks were due. Some, who were so treated, became melancholy, and said the expedition

expedition would never succeed; and foreseeing what would happen, whenever they could amass any money, like wise men, set out on their return home. The poor knights and squires, who were not retainers on the great lords, had expended their all; for every thing was so dear in Flanders, they had difficulty in procuring bread or wine. If they wished to pawn their wages or arms, they could not obtain a farthing for what, when new, had cost them large sums. There were such crowds at Bruges, Damme, Ardembourg, and particularly at Sluys, when the king arrived, that it was difficult to find any lodgings.

The lords de St. Pol, de Coucy, d'Antoing, and the dauphin of Auvergne, with other barons from France, remained at Bruges to be more at their ease, and every now and then rode over to Sluys, to inquire from the king when they were to embark. They were told, within three or four days; or when the duke of Berry should arrive or when the wind was favourable. There was always some delay; but the time passed, and the days became shorter and cold, with bad weather. Many of the lords were discontented they were so long in embarking, for their provision would be spoiled.

While they were waiting for the duke of Berry and the constable, the king of Armenia, who resided in France, on a pension from the king of six thousand francs, desirous to make a journey to England, in hopes of bringing about a peace, or at least a truce between the two kings, left his  
hôtel

hôtel of St. Ouen, near St. Denis, and, with few attendants, travelled to Boulogne, where he hired a vessel, and, having a favourable wind, landed at Dover. He found there the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, with a hundred men at arms and two thousand archers to guard the place; for the rumour ran, that the French intended landing there, or at Sandwich. At this last place were the earls of Arundel and Northumberland. At Orwell, the earls of Oxford, Pembroke and Nottingham, and sir Reginald Cobham, with three thousand infantry. The king, and part of his council, remained in London, where he had intelligence daily from the different ports.

The king of Armenia, on his arrival at Dover, was very well received, and conducted by some knights to the uncles of the king, who entertained him handsomely, as they knew well how to do. At a proper opportunity they asked him, ‘whither he came? and what were the reasons of his visiting England?’ To these questions he answered,—‘that, in hopes of doing good, he had come to wait on the king of England and his council, to see if, by any means, he could negotiate a peace between him and the king of France. For this war,’ added the king of Armenia, ‘is not very becoming between them: the long continuance of it has greatly emboldened and raised the pride of the Turks and Saracens. No one now makes any opposition to them; and this has been the cause why I have lost my crown and kingdom; nor have I any chance of recovering them,  
until

until a firm peace be established in Christendom. I would willingly explain this matter, which so nearly touches every true Christian, to the king of England, as I have done to the king of France.'

The English lords asked him, 'if the king of France had sent him?' He said,—'No one had sent him; that he had come of his own accord, and solely with a view to do good, to see the king of England and his council, and to try if they would listen to terms of peace.' They then asked 'where the king of France was.' 'I believe he is now at Sluys; but I have not seen him since I took my leave of him at Senlis.' 'How can you then think of forming a treaty, when you have not been so charged by him? Should you enter into any terms with the king, our nephew, and his council, and the king of France, in the mean time, sail from Sluys, and disembark his large army in England, you would be much blamed, and your person run great risks from the people.'

The king of Armenia replied,—'I have the greatest confidence in the king of France, to whom I have sent messengers to entreat he would neither embark nor put to sea until I be returned to Sluys, and I am convinced he is so noble and considerate, that he will comply with my request. I therefore beg of you, through pity and love of goodness, to procure me an interview with the king of England, that I may speak to him, for I desire greatly to see him; or if you, who are his uncles, and the most powerful of his subjects, be autho-  
rised

rised to give me answers to my demands, I hope that you will instantly do so.'

Thomas, earl of Buckingham, said,—' King of Armenia, we are solely ordered here by the king and his council, to guard and defend the frontiers, and we do not any way concern ourselves with the government of the realm, unless we be specially commanded by him. Since motives of goodness, or the appearance of them, have brought you hither, you are welcome; but you must not expect to receive from us any definitive answers to such demands as you may make; and, though we are not now of the king's council, we will have you conducted to London without danger or expense.' The king of Armenia replied, ' that he greatly thanked them, and wished for nothing more than to see and converse with the king of England.'

After having refreshed himself for one day at Dover, and held many conversations with the king's uncles, he set off, well escorted, to protect him on the road. He continued his journey until he arrived at London, where he was much stared at by the Londoners: the better sort, however, shewed him every honour and respect. Having fixed on his lodgings, at a proper time and hour he waited on the king, who resided in a private manner at the wardrobe; but his council were in London, each at his own house; for the Londoners were so panic-struck, they thought of nothing but how to fortify their town.

When the arrival of the king of Armenia was publicly known, the king's council assembled at the

the wardrobe to learn the news, and what could have brought that king, at this time of trouble and alarm, to England. The king of Armenia entered the presence-chamber, and the two kings having mutually saluted each other, the king of Armenia began his speech, by declaring, the causes for his coming were principally to see the king of England, which he had never before done; that he was much gratified in being in his presence, from which he flattered himself good would arise; and also to attempt to avert the great pestilence that was ready to befall England: not that either the king of France or his council had sent him thither, for he was come of his own free will, to endeavour to make a peace or a truce between the two crowns. He paid many compliments both to the king and to his council. He was briefly answered as follows: 'Sir king, you are welcome to this country, for our king and selves are glad to see you. We must inform you, that the king has not all his council at this moment with him, but they will shortly assemble, as he had summoned them, and you shall then have an answer.'

The king of Armenia was contented with this, took his leave, and returned to the house where he was lodged. Within four days, the king was advised what answer to make: I believe he consulted his uncles on the subject, but they were not present when it was given. The king went to Westminster, where his council was assembled, and thither the king of Armenia was invited. When in the presence, the king of England was seated

feated according to custom, then the king of Armenia and the prelates and lords of the council. The king of Armenia was desired to repeat what he had before told the king and a part of his council. He did so in an elegant harangue, shewing how Christendom was too much weakened by the destructive wars of France and England, and that the knights and squires of the two countries thought of nothing but joining one party or other: by which the empire of Constantinople would be destroyed, where formerly the gentlemen of France and England used to take pleasure in seeking deeds of arms, and that his own kingdom was already lost. He therefore entreated, through the love of God, they would listen to some terms of peace between the two kings.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who had beforehand been ordered by the king and council to deliver the answer, replied; ‘King of Armenia, it is not usual, nor has it ever been admitted, that in such weighty matters as are now in dispute between the king of England and his adversary of France, the king of England should have requests made him, with an army ready to invade his country. I will therefore declare our opinion, that you return to the French army, and prevail on them to retreat to France; and, when we shall be fully assured that every man has retired to his home, do you return hither, and we will then pay attention to any treaty you shall propose.’

This was the answer the king of Armenia received. He dined that day with the king, who  
paid

paid him every possible honour, and offered him handsome presents of gold and silver; but he refused them all, though he had need of them, and would only accept a single ring, worth one hundred francs. After the dinner, which was splendid and good, he returned to his lodgings, for he had received his answer, and on the morrow set out for Dover, making two days journey of it. He there took leave of the English lords, and embarked on board a passage-boat to Calais, whence he went to Sluys. He related to the king of France and his uncles the journey he had made to England, and what answer he had received: but the king and his lords paid no attention to it, and sent him to France; for they were resolved to sail the first fair wind for England, after the arrival of the duke of Berry and the constable. Hitherto the wind had been unfavourable: it would never have served them to land in those parts they intended to attempt, but was very fair to carry them to Scotland.

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## CHAP. XV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY LEAVES PARIS FOR SLUYS.

—THE CONSTABLE, AFTER SUFFERING MANY DELAYS FROM CONTRARY WINDS, AT LENGTH JOINS THE KING OF FRANCE.

**T**HE duke of Berry arrived at Paris, and, after hearing mass at the church of Nôtre Dame, took

took his leave, making it to be understood that he would never return until he had been in England, although his intentions were quite the contrary; for, as the season was so far advanced, he had no desire to undertake it. On his road, he daily received letters and messengers from the king and the duke of Burgundy, to hasten him, and to say they were only waiting for his coming to embark. The duke of Berry continued his march, though by short days journeys.

The constable of France embarked at Treguier, a town on the sea-coast of Brittany, with a fine body of men at arms, and ample purveyances on board seventy-two large vessels. Some of them were freighted with the wooden town that was to be erected on their landing in England. The constable had a favourable wind when he left the harbour: but, when he approached the English coast, it became contrary, and the farther they advanced the more violent it blew. When opposite to Margate at the mouth of the Thames, the storm was so violent, it dispersed the fleet, whether the mariners would or not, and there were not twenty sail together. Some were blown into the Thames, where they were captured by the English; and among them was one that had two or three parts of the wooden town on board, and the workmen who were to erect it. They and the town were sent to London, which much pleased the king and the citizens. Seven other vessels of the fleet, laden with stores and provision, were driven on the coast of Zealand, and seized; but  
the

the constable and his lords, with much difficulty, arrived at Sluys, where they were joyfully received by the king and his barons. The moment the king saw the constable, he said,—‘Constable, what say you? when shall we sail? I have for certain a great desire to see England. I therefore pray you to hasten the business, and that we embark as speedily as possible. My uncle Berry will be here instantly, for he is now at Lille.’ ‘Sire,’ replied the constable, ‘we cannot sail until the wind be favourable. This south wind, which is completely against us, has blown so long, that the sailors say they have never seen it so constant in one point as it has been for these two months.’

‘Constable,’ said the king, ‘on my faith, I have been on board my ship. I like the sea much, and I believe I shall be a good sailor, for I was not in the least sick.’ ‘In the name of God,’ answered the constable, ‘it was not so with me, for we were in great danger in our voyage from Brittany hither.’ The king would know how, and in what manner, which the constable related to him, adding, ‘By ill fortune and the storm which blew from the English coast, we have lost our men and vessels, for which I am exceedingly sorry; and if I could make up their loss I would, but at this moment it is not possible.’

## CHAP. XVI.

THE LORD DE GUISTELLES APPEASES AN INSURRECTION OF THE MEN OF BRUGES AGAINST THE FRENCH.—THE INVASION OF ENGLAND IS GIVEN UP, ON ACCOUNT OF CONTRARY WINDS, THE NEAR APPROACH OF WINTER, AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ADVICE OF THE DUKE OF BERRY, WHICH CAUSES GREAT REJOICINGS IN ENGLAND.

WHILE the king of France and his constable were thus conversing and arranging different matters, winter was begun, and the lords and army lay exposed to the cold, and to some danger; for the Flemings wished them away, more especially the lower sorts. They said, when among themselves, ‘Why the devil does not the king free us from them, by passing over to England? Are we not sufficiently poor without these Frenchmen adding to it?’ Others answered, ‘You will not see them cross over this year. They think they shall instantly conquer England; but it will not be so: it is not so easy a matter, for the English are made of other stuff than the French. What can they do to England? When the English invaded France, they shut themselves up in their castles and strong towns, and fled before them like larks before a sparrow-hawk.’

It was more particularly in Bruges, where the greater resort of the French was, that the discon-

tents were the highest; and the smallest trifle was sufficient to set them by the ears. At length it became serious, and was begun by a few French varlets, who had beaten and wounded some of the Flemings: the artificers then rose, and, having armed themselves, assembled in the market-place. Not one French knight or squire would have escaped death; for many of the Flemings had not forgotten the battle of Rosebecque, and were eager to revenge themselves for their fathers, brothers or friends who had been there slain, but God, providentially for the French, sent thither the lord de Guistelles.

When he learnt that the common people were arming themselves, and that others were running to their houses to do the same, he saw the town would be infallibly ruined: he therefore mounted his horse, attended by no more than four or five others, and rode up and down the streets; and, whenever he met any of the townsmen armed going towards the market-place, he said to them, — ‘My good people, what are you about? whither are you going? Would you ruin yourselves? have you not had enough of war? are you not every day prevented from following your trades? You may so act as to cause the complete destruction of Bruges; for do you not know that the king of France is now in the neighbourhood with his whole army?’

Thus did the lord de Guistelles by his kind speeches calm them, and make them return to their homes; but this would not have been so easily

easily done, had he not fortunately been in Bruges. The barons and knights of France were so much alarmed, they had shut themselves up in their quarters, to wait the event.

On the arrival of the duke of Berry at Sluys, the king said to him,—‘Ha, ha, fair uncle, though I was so anxious to see you, you have been long in coming: why have you made such delay, when we ought to have been at this moment in England, where we should have combated our enemies?’

The duke laughed and made his excuses for the delay, but did not at first deliver his real sentiments: he wished to examine the state of the purveyances and the fleet, which made so beautiful a show in the road that it was delightful to see it. He had been at Sluys for more than seven days, and it was daily rumoured they were to sail on the morrow; but in truth the wind was quite contrary to sailing for England. As it was now St. Andrew’s tide, the weather was hazy; and you may judge if this were a fit season for so many noble persons to put to sea as were now waiting to embark at Sluys, whose stores and provision were on board.

Some of the young princes of the blood-royal, with a desire to display their courage, had indeed made a few cruises near the harbour, saying, that they would be the first to land in England, should none others venture thither. In this number were sir Robert and sir Philip d’Artois, sir Henry de Bar, sir Peter de Navarre, sir Peter d’Albreth, sir

Bernard d'Armagnac, with many more. These young lords, having once begun, were so impatient to sail in earnest, that a council was held, in the presence of the king, to determine how they should proceed. The duke of Berry broke up the whole; and gave such well-grounded reasons, that the greater part of those who were the most forward to embark were discouraged; and said it would be folly and madness to advise the king, who was then but a child, to put to sea in such weather, and to make war on a people and country, whose roads no one was acquainted with, and a country which was likewise disadvantageous for warlike exploits. 'Now, suppose,' said the duke of Berry, 'we were all landed in England, we cannot fight the English unless they like it, and we dare not leave our purveyances behind, for whoever should do so would lose the whole. But if any one wished to make this voyage, though of no great length, he would do it in the middle of summer, and not in the heart of winter. Summon all the sailors who are here, and they will tell you that what I say is true; and that, notwithstanding the very numerous fleet we have collected, should we put to sea, of the fifteen hundred sail, there would never be three hundred together, or within fight. Now, consider what risks we may run; but I do not say this out of any desire to be excused from being of the party myself, but solely as I believe it sound sense, and that the council, and the majority of France, are of my way of thinking. I am willing, brother of Burgundy,

Burgundy, that you and I undertake this expedition, but I will never advise the king to do so; for, should any accident happen to him, the whole blame would be laid on us for having consented to it.' 'In God's name,' replied the king of France, 'I am resolved to go, should no one follow me.' The lords laughed, and said the king has a strong inclination to embark.

It was determined in this council, that the invasion should be deferred to April or May; and that what stores could be preserved, such as biscuit, salted meat and wine, should be put in warehouses: and regulations were made for the men at arms to return to Sluys in the month of March.

All this was soon known; and thus was the grand expedition broken up, which had cost France one hundred thousand francs, thirty times told. The council had ordered that the king should return to France, and the different lords to their homes; that all things should remain on the same footing on which they then rested until the spring, when every one should be prepared to obey the king's summons, and commence their voyage under more fortunate auspices than at this moment.

It would have surprised any one to have seen the rage of the knights and squires on hearing these orders: more especially those who had come from distant parts, and had expended all their money, in the hope of amply repaying themselves in England. Among them were the count  
de Savoye,

de Savoye, the count d'Armagnac, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, and a hundred great barons, who departed much discontented at not having seen England. The king was equally vexed, but he could not amend it.

The army now separated, some pleased and others angry; but the servants of the principal lords staid behind, for the benefit of their masters, and to sell off their stores: in this, great losses accrued; for what had cost one hundred francs was disposed of for ten, and even under. The count dauphin d'Auvergne assured me on his faith, that for his stores, which had cost him ten thousand francs, he did not receive one thousand when refold: his servants, like those of others, suffered every thing to go to ruin.

When news of this reached England, those who were afraid of the French coming were greatly rejoiced; while others were sorry, for they expected to have made themselves rich from them. A grand feast was given in the city of London to all who had been appointed to guard the different harbours. The king kept his Christmas, in a solemn manner, at Westminster, and there created three dukes; first, the earl of Cambridge, duke of York; his brother, the earl of Buckingham, duke of Gloucester; the earl of Oxford, duke of Ireland. These feasts were long and magnificently continued, and the people of England thought they had escaped from great danger; but others, who had not the same alarms, said, that the army and navy, which had been so pompously collected

lected at Sluys, were only to frighten England, and force the duke of Lancaster to return from Galicia, where he was conquering towns and castles at his pleasure.

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## CHAP. XVII.

### TWO CHAMPIONS TILT AT PARIS, FOR LIFE OR DEATH.

**A**BOUT this period, there was much conversation in France respecting a duel which was to be fought, for life or death, at Paris. It had been thus ordered by the parliament of Paris, where the cause, which had lasted a year, had been tried, between a squire called James le Gris and John de Carogne, both of them of the household of Peter count d'Alençon, and esteemed by him; but more particularly James le Gris, whom he loved above all others, and placed his whole confidence in him. As this duel made so great a noise, many from distant parts, on hearing of it, came to Paris to be spectators. I will relate the cause, as I was then informed.

It chanced that sir John de Carogne took it into his head he should gain glory if he undertook a voyage to the Holy Land, having long had an inclination to go thither. He took leave of his lord, the count d'Alençon, and of his wife, who was then a young and handsome lady, and left her in his castle, called Argenteil, on the borders of Perche, and began his journey towards the sea-  
side.

side. The lady remained, with her household, in this castle, living in the most decent manner. Now it happened (this is the matter of quarrel) that the devil, by divers and perverse temptations, entered the body of James le Gris, and induced him to commit a crime, for which he afterwards paid.

He cast his thoughts on the lady of sir John de Carogne, whom he knew to be residing with her attendants, at the castle of Argenteil. One day, therefore, he set out, mounted on the finest horse of the count, and arrived, full gallop, at Argenteil, where he dismounted. The servants made a handsome entertainment for him, because they knew he was a particular friend, and attached to the same lord as their master; and the lady, thinking no ill, received him with pleasure, led him to her apartment, and shewed him many of her works. James, fully intent to accomplish his wickedness, begged of her to conduct him to the dungeon, for that his visit was partly to examine it. The lady instantly complied, and led him thither; for, as she had the utmost confidence in his honour, she was not accompanied by valet or chambermaid. As soon as they had entered the dungeon, James le Gris fastened the door unnoticed by the lady, who was before him, thinking it might have been the wind, as he gave her to understand.

When they were thus alone, James embraced her, and discovered what his intentions were: the lady was much astonished, and would willingly have

have escaped had she been able, but the door was fastened; and James, who was a strong man, held her tight in his arms, and flung her down on the floor, and had his will of her. Immediately afterward, he opened the door of the dungeon, and made himself ready to depart. The lady, exasperated with rage at what had passed, remained silent, in tears; but, on his departure, she said to him,—‘Jemmy, Jemmy, you have not done well in thus desflowering me: the blame, however, shall not be mine, but the whole be laid on you, if it please God my husband ever return.’

James mounted his horse, and, quitting the castle, hastened back to his lord, the count d’Alençon, in time to attend his rising at nine o’clock: he had been seen in the hôtel of the count at four o’clock that morning. I am thus particular, because all these circumstances were inquired into, and examined by the commissioners of the parliament, when the cause was before them.

The lady de Carogne, on the day this unfortunate event befel her, remained in her castle, and passed it off as well as she could, without mentioning one word of it to either chambermaid or valet, for she thought by making it public she would have more shame than honour; but she retained in her memory the day and hour James le Gris had come to the castle.

The lord de Carogne returned from his voyage, and was joyfully received by his lady and household, who feasted him well. When night came, sir John went to bed, but his lady excused herself,

self; and, on his kindly pressing her to come to him, she walked very pensively up and down the chamber. At last, when the household were in bed, she flung herself on her knees at his bedside, and bitterly bewailed the insult she had suffered. The knight would not believe it could have happened; but at length, she urged it so strongly, he did believe her, and said,—‘Certainly, lady, if the matter has passed as you say, I forgive you, but the squire shall die; and I shall consult your and my relations on the subject: should you have told me a falsehood, never more shall you live with me.’ The lady again and again assured him, that what she had said was the pure truth.

On the morrow, the knight sent special messengers with letters to his friends and nearest relations of his wife, desiring them to come instantly to Argenteil, so that in a few days they were all at his castle. When they were assembled, he led them into an apartment, and told them the reasons of his sending for them, and made his lady relate most minutely every thing that had passed during his absence. When they had recovered their astonishment, he asked their advice how to act: they said, he should wait on his lord, the count d’Alençon, and tell him the fact. This he did; but the count, who much loved James le Gris, disbelieved it, and appointed a day for the parties to come before him, and desired the lady might attend to give her evidence against the man whom she thus accused.

She attended as desired, accompanied by a  
great

great number of her relations; and the examinations and pleadings were carried on before the count to a great length. James le Gris boldly denied the charge, declared it was false, and wondered much how he could have incurred such mortal hatred from the lady. He proved by the household of the count, that he had been seen in the castle at four o'clock in the morning; the count said, that he was in his bed-chamber at nine o'clock, and that it was quite impossible for any one to have ridden three and twenty leagues and back again, and do what he was charged with, in four hours and a half. The count told the lady he would support his squire, and that she must have dreamed it. He commanded, that henceforward all should be buried in oblivion, and, under pain of incurring his displeasure, nothing farther done in the business.

The knight, being a man of courage, and believing what his wife had told him, would not submit to this, but went to Paris and appealed to the parliament. The parliament summoned James le Gris, who replied, and gave pledges to obey whatever judgment the parliament should give. The cause lasted upwards of a year, and they could not any way compromise it, for the knight was positive, from his wife's information, of the fact, and declared, that since it was now so public, he would pursue it until death. The count d'Alençon, for this, conceived a great hatred against the knight, and would have had him put to death, had he not have placed himself

self under the safeguard of the parliament. It was long pleaded, and the parliament at last, because they could not produce other evidence than herself against James le Gris, judged it should be decided in the tilt-yard, by a duel for life or death. The knight, the squire and the lady were instantly put under arrest until the day of this mortal combat, which, by order of parliament, was fixed for the ensuing Monday, in the year 1387; at which time the king of France and his barons were at Sluys, intending to invade England.

The king, on hearing of this duel, declared he would be present at it. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and the constable of France, being also desirous of seeing it, agreed it was proper he should be there. The king, in consequence, sent orders to Paris to prolong the day of the duel, for that he would be present. This order was punctually obeyed, and the king and his lords departed for France. The king kept the feast of the Calends at Arras, and the duke of Burgundy at Lille. In the mean time, the men at arms made for their different homes, as had been ordered by the marshals; but the principal chiefs went to Paris, to witness the combat.

When the king of France was returned to Paris, lifts were made for the champions in the place of St. Catherine, behind the Temple; and the lords had erected, on one side, scaffolds, the better to see the fight. The crowd of people was wonderful. The two champions entered the lifts  
armed

armed at all points, and each was seated in a chair opposite the other: the count de St. Pol directed sir John de Carogne, and the retainers of the count d'Alençon James le Gris. On the knight entering the field, he went to his lady, who was covered with black and seated on a chair, and said,—‘ Lady, from your accusation, and in your quarrel, am I thus adventuring my life to combat James le Gris: you know whether my cause be loyal and true.’ ‘ My lord,’ she replied, ‘ it is so; and you may fight securely, for your cause is good.’

The lady remained seated, making fervent prayers to God and the virgin, entreating humbly, that through her grace and intercession, she might gain the victory according to her right. Her affliction was great, for her life depended on the event; and, should her husband lose the victory, she would have been burnt, and he would have been hanged: I am ignorant, for I never had any conversation with her or the knight, whether she had not frequently repented of having pushed matters so far as to place herself and husband in such peril; but it was now too late, and she must abide the event. The two champions were then advanced, and placed opposite to each other; when they mounted their horses, and made a handsome appearance, for they were both expert men at arms. They ran their first course without hurt to either. After the tilting, they dismounted, and made ready to continue the fight. They behaved with courage; but sir John de Carogne was, at  
the

the first onset wounded in the thigh, which alarmed all his friends: notwithstanding this, he fought so desperately that he struck down his adversary, and, thrusting his sword through the body, caused his instant death; when he demanded of the spectators, if he had done his duty: they replied, that he had. The body of James le Gris was delivered to the hangman, who dragged it to Montfaucon, and there hanged it.

Sir John de Carogne approached the king, and fell on his knees: the king made him rise, and ordered one thousand francs to be paid him that very day: he also retained him of his household with a pension of two hundred livres a-year, which he received as long as he lived. Sir John, after thanking the king and his lords, went to his lady and kissed her: they went together to make their offering in the church of nôtre Dame, and then returned to their home.

Sir John de Carogne did not remain long after in France, but set off, in company with the lord Boucicaut, sir John des Bordes and sir Lewis Grat, to visit the holy sepulchre, and the sultan of the Turks, whose fame was much talked of in France. Sir Robinet de Boulogne was also with him: he was squire of honour to the king of France, and had travelled much over the world.

## CHAP. XVIII.

THE DEATH OF PETER KING OF ARRAGON.—

HIS SUCCESSOR, KING JOHN, DETAINS PRISONER THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX, WHO WAS NEGOTIATING, FOR THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, THE PAYMENT OF CERTAIN SUMS WHICH HE CLAIMED AS DUE TO HIM FROM ARRAGON.

**A**BOUT Candlemas of this year (1387), king Peter of Arragon lay on his death-bed. When he found there were no hopes of his recovery, he sent for his two sons, John and Martin\*, to whom he said,—‘ My fair children, I leave you well established, and the affairs of my kingdom properly arranged. Live peaceably and lovingly and you will gain honour and renown. With regard to ecclesiastical matters, for my conscience sake and greater safety, I have always been neuter : do you do the same, until the knowledge, which pope is the true one, shall be more apparent.’

His two sons dutifully replied, that they would do so, and punctually obey whatever he should

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\* Martin was king of Sicily, and on the death of John, killed by a fall from his horse in pursuing an enormous wolf, succeeded to the crown of Arragon. John did not follow his father's counsels with respect to the disputed tiara, but acknowledged Clement VII.—*Art de Verifier les Dates.*

order. The king died soon after. He was a valiant man in his time, and had considerably added to the crown of Arragon by the conquest of Majorca, which he kept. He was buried in the city of Barcelona, and there lies.

When the death of the king of Arragon was known at Avignon, the pope and cardinals instantly sent off letters to the king of France, his uncles, and to the duke and duchess of Bar, who were his supporters and parents to the young queen of Arragon, the lady Jolante\*, and to the queen herself, and were so busy, that the whole court of Arragon acknowledged him as pope. The duke and duchess of Bar wrote pressing letters to their daughter, as did the king of France, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who sent a cardinal as ambassador, to instruct the new king, his brother, and subjects. The cardinal, with the assistance of the queen, who paid too much attention to what her relations had urged, gained over the king, who had before determined to follow the example of his father in preserving a neutrality, and the whole kingdom to the obedience of pope Clement.

At the time of the late king of Arragon's death, the archbishop of Bordeaux was at Barcelona. He had been sent thither by the duke of Lancaster, and I will explain the cause of his journey. The late prince of Wales (who, though only duke of Aquitaine, was much feared by his neighbours,

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\* The lady Jolante was his second wife. He was first married to Jane, daughter of John count d'Armagnac.

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the kings of France, Arragon, Castille and Navarre, and even by the king of the Saracens, who had heard of his great prowess and renown) had entered into a treaty with the king of Arragon, which had been sworn to, and sealed by each party, as well as by the king of England, that neither the prince nor the king of England, nor their successors, would ever wage war against Arragon, so long as the king of Arragon and his heirs should serve the lord of Aquitaine with five hundred spears, against any enemy with whom he was at war; and that, if he chose not to send his men, he bound himself to pay a certain sum of money.

Ten years of arrears were now due from Arragon: for the king had never paid any thing, nor done any service to the king of England nor to his deputies. When the duke of Lancaster left England, he brought with him letters-patent, sealed with the great seal of the realm, in the presence of the king and his council, appointing him lieutenant, for the king, over all the countries of Bordeaux, Bayonne and Aquitaine, giving him regal power to demand whatever might be owing from Arragon, and from all other parts dependant or allied to England. They also gave the duke power to retain, for his own use, whatever sums might be due, and to give receipts, which would be acknowledged as legal.

While the duke was at Sant Jago, he be-  
thought himself of the king of Arragon, and  
that he was indebted to him a very large sum

of arrears, by virtue of his commission, and that it would come now, with other aids, very opportunely, to carry on his war against Castille.

During his residence at Sant Jago, he sent some of his council to Bordeaux, to the archbishop, and sir John Harpedon, the sénéchal, ordering one or both of them to set out for Arragon, and remonstrate strongly with the king, on the large sums he had long owed the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine.

The archbishop and sénéchal, having weighed the orders from the duke, thought it best for the sénéchal to remain at Bordeaux, and the archbishop to undertake the embassy. He therefore set out, but arrived in Arragon, unluckily, when the king was on his death-bed. When he was deceased, the archbishop followed the princes and council of Arragon to the interment at Barcelona, and then remonstrated so strongly, as it seemed to the council, that he was ordered to prison: though not closely confined, he was forbidden to leave the city of Barcelona.

## CHAP. XIX.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MAKES WAR ON ARAGON.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX IS RELEASED.—THE VISCOUNTESS OF CASTELBON, SUSPECTED OF HAVING ADMITTED THE ENGLISH INTO HER CASTLE, APPEASES THE KING OF ARRAGON, THROUGH THE INTERFERENCE OF THE COUNT DE FOIX.

WHEN news was brought to Bordeaux of the imprisonment of the archbishop, the sénéchal said,—‘I am not surprised at it: the archbishop is too hot-headed. I believe it would have been better had I gone thither: I should have spoken more calmly; and there is a method of urging claims suited to different persons.’ The sénéchal sent information of what had happened to the duke of Lancaster, who was very wroth with the king of Arragon and his council, for having imprisoned such a person as the archbishop of Bordeaux, when negotiating his business.

The duke wrote orders for the garrison of Lourde instantly to invade Arragon, and attack Barcelona, where the archbishop was confined. The governor, John de Béarn, who styled himself sénéchal of Bigorre, Peter d’Anchin, Ernaulton de Resten, Ernaulton de Sainte Colombe, and the whole garrison, were much delighted with these orders, and overran the king-

dom of Arragon as far as Barcelona, so that no merchants dared venture without its walls. In addition to this mischief, the principal towns of Arragon would not consent to the king's wishes, of being crowned, unless he would first promise, and solemnly swear, that no taxes, pay for foldiers, or other impositions, should be raised in the country; and unless he would engage for a compliance with other demands, which the king and his council thought very unreasonable and unjust. He threatened to make war upon them, more particularly on those of Barcelona, who he said were too rich and presumptuous.

There was, at this period, in Languedoc, on the borders of Rouergue and Auvergne, towards Pefenas and Ufès, a band of armed men, who called themselves Routes, that were daily multiplying to do evil. Four men at arms were their leaders, who made war on every man they met on horseback, caring not whom. Their names were, Peter de Montfaucon, Geoffry Chastelier, Hainge de Sorge and le Goulet. These had under them full four hundred combatants, who ruined all the country wherever they haunted. They were mightily rejoiced when they heard of the archbishop of Bordeaux's imprisonment, of the duke of Lancaster's making war on the Arragonians, and that the king of Arragon was dissatisfied with his subjects, in the principal towns; for such people always love mischief, in preference to good.

They therefore resolved to march towards the  
frontiers

frontiers of Arragon and surprife some fort, which the king or principal towns would negotiate with them to regain. They fet out, and made for the caſtle of Duren\*, which they had planned to furprife. This caſtle is in the archbiſhoprick of Narbonne, between France and Arragon, and ſituated precisely on the limits of the two kingdoms.

They arrived there by night-fall undiscovered, and, finding it weakly guarded, ſoon conquered it, to the great difmay of all the country, eſpecially of Perpignan, which is but four leagues diſtant from this caſtle.

The garrifon from Lourde, this ſame week, captured likewise a caſtle in Arragon, four leagues from Barcelona, called the old caſtle of Rolbais, belonging to the viſcounteſs of Caſtelbon, couſin-german to the count de Foix. The lady was much ſurprifed at this event, and went to her couſin, the count de Foix, to beg, for God's ſake, he would get her caſtle reſtored to her; for thoſe who had won it were from his country of Béarn. The count, in his answer, deſired her not to be alarmed; for that her caſtle had been taken ſolely to harraſs Barcelona from thence, as the archbiſhop of Bordeaux was in confinement there for a trifling cauſe, and that ſhe ſhould have it again undamaged. The lady was ſatisfied with this answer, but kept it ſecret, and went to reſide at another caſtle, near Roquebertin.

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\* Duren. Q. if not Durban.

Those of Duren, Rolbais, and the garrison from Lourde, kept up a severe warfare on the borders of Arragon. The king, indeed, winked at this, that the towns might be punished, but their discontents increased; for those of Barcelona, Perpignan and other towns, could not carry on their commerce without being made prisoners, and ransomed. They determined to set the archbishop of Bordeaux at liberty, but, as was right, to consult first the king on the subject. They, in consequence, negotiated privately with don Martin, the king's brother, who was very popular in the country, that he would interfere between them and the king, and obtain peace with those of Lourde and Rolbais. In order to encourage their loyalty, he engaged to do what they desired, and prevailed on his brother to give the archbishop his liberty, and send him back to the Bordelois.

Shortly afterward, by the count de Foix's exertions, the viscountess recovered her castle, and those who had captured it departed, in return for the service the count had done to the duke of Lancaster in the course of this year. The king of Arragon, seeing the viscountess so quickly regain her castle, sent for her, and, when in his presence, charged her with having admitted the English into her castle to make war on him, for which she had been very criminal. The lady clearly exculpated herself, saying,—‘My lord, as God may help me and mine, and by the faith I owe you, when I heard of my castle being taken, I had never  
any

any connection, nor entered into any treaty with the English. I instantly informed my cousin the count de Foix of it, and begged of him, for God's sake, to aid me to recover my castle, as it had been taken by the garrison from Lourde, who are his subjects and from Béarn. The count sent me word not to alarm myself, for that those who had conquered it had only borrowed it, to make a more effectual warfare on Barcelona.' The king replied, 'If you can prove this answer from the count de Foix, I will restore your castle.' 'That I can easily do,' answered the lady. She informed the count, who at that time resided at Orthès, in Béarn, of this conversation, and entreated he would satisfy the king of Arragon. The count sent letters to the king of Arragon by one of his knights, called sir Cicart de Saurelin, to request he would hold his cousin excused, and allow her to possess her lands in peace, otherwise it would displease him. The king of Arragon acceded to this request, and, having well entertained the knight, said to him, 'The viscountess has acted prudently, in thus having her cousin the count de Foix make excuses for her.'

## CHAP. XX.

THOSE COMPANIONS WHO HAD CONQUERED DUREN ARE DEFEATED AND SLAIN, BY A STRATAGEM OF RAYMOND DE BACHEZ, COUSIN TO THE KING OF ARRAGON.

THUS affairs remained: the viscountess de Castelbon had quiet possession of her castle; but the merchants were not the less harraffed by the garrison who had come from Lourde. Those of Barcelona and its neighbourhood were frequently pillaged and made prisoners by them, unless they had entered into a treaty and paid composition-money for their safety. These compositions extended over many parts of Catalonia and Arragon; and the garrison of Duren was desirous of adopting the same plan, which they would have executed, or perhaps worse, had they not been checked. They had done more mischief to the country than those of Lourde; for they were poorer, and made no distinction whom they attacked, whether officers of the king and queen or merchants. The king at length assembled his council on this business; for the great towns murmured, and said, that the king, who ought to have destroyed such wretches, supported them. These and such description of speeches, when told to the young king, gave him much uneasiness, and he was vexed that his subjects should thus talk of him respecting Duren, because the crown of his father, who had been

so greatly beloved, was but just fallen to him, He called to him a great baron of Arragon and his cousin, named sir Raymond de Bachez, and said, 'Sir Raymond, ride towards Duren, and learn from those who have surprised it what they want in my country, and make some treaty with them, that you may get them out of it by fair or foul means.' The knight obeyed, and sent a herald to the garrison of Duren, to say he wished to negotiate a treaty with them. When Montfaucon and the other captains learnt that sir Raymond de Bachez wanted to treat with them, they thought they should obtain a large sum to deliver up the place, and said to the herald, 'Friend, tell your master, sir Raymond, from us, that he may safely come here, for we will not do him any injury.'

The herald returned with this answer to sir Raymond, at Perpignan, who instantly left the place, and on his arrival at Duren held a parley with them. He asked why they remained so long on the borders of Arragon: they replied, they were waiting to join the army from France that was coming to the support of the king of Castille. 'Ha, my gentlemen,' said sir Raymond, 'if you wait for that, you will stay here too long; for the king of Arragon will not allow you thus to plunder his country and its inhabitants.'

They replied, 'that since the king would not suffer them to support themselves, he must prevent it, for live they would. If he would ransom the country, they would march away, but  
not

not otherwife.' 'And what do you ask?' said fir Raymond. 'Sixty thousand francs: we are four of us, and each must have fifteen thousand for his share.' 'In God's name,' said fir Raymond, 'that is money enough; but I will report it to the king: it is better for him to pay you this sum, for the good of the country, than to allow your further pillaging.' He added this to keep them in good humour, but thought the contrary to what he had said. On taking leave, fir Raymond told them they might expect the sum they had asked, and perhaps more. He then returned to Perpignan, where the king was, and related to him all that had passed. The king said,—'You must at all events free the country from them, and pay the thieves; if I could get hold of them, I would hang them all, which is the only payment they deserve: but the place is so strong, it will be difficult to draw them out of it.'

'Sir,' replied fir Raymond, 'I will manage it: only do not interfere.' 'Well,' said the king, 'do so: I will not meddle further in the business; but see that the country be delivered from them.' Sir Raymond collected a body of men at arms, to the amount of five hundred spears, which he placed in ambush, and gave the command of them to a squire of Gascony called Naudon Seighin, who was valiant and expert in arms.

The ambuscade was about a short league from Duren, and fir Raymond ordered, that as soon as the garrison should have passed by, they should  
fall

fall on them, and, if possible, put all to death. Sir Raymond wrote to the garrison, to desire they would mount their horses and advance to Perpignan, making a show of attacking the place, to alarm the inhabitants, otherwise he should never be able to raise their quota of the money he was to pay them. They were much pleased to receive such intelligence, believing it true, and, mounting their horses the same day the ambush was posted, rode for Perpignan, galloping up to the barriers. When they had done this, they began their retreat, thinking to return quietly home; but they had scarcely gone half way before they met Naudon Seighin and his troops, who instantly charged them. They now perceived they had been tricked, and prepared to defend themselves: they fought well during the time the combat lasted; but that was not long, for there were among them numbers of pillagers badly armed, who were soon defeated.

Among the slain were, Geoffry Chastelier, Hainge de Sorge, Guyot Moresque, John le Geulant and many more. Peter de Montfaucon, Amblardan de St. Just and forty others, were made prisoners, and carried to Perpignan, where, as they passed the streets, the inhabitants came out of their houses and hooted at them, as they would have done at a wolf. Some were confined in yards, others in prison or in pits.

The duke of Berry, about this time, arrived at Carcassone, from a visit to pope Clement at Avignon. Having there heard that Duren was regained,

gained, and the garrison slain or made prisoners, he instantly wrote to the king of Arragon, and to his cousin Jolante de Bar, to beg they would give up to him Peter de Montfaucon and his companions. His request was immediately complied with, and they were sent to the duke of Berry. They were indebted to him, or they would infallibly have all been put to death.

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## CHAP. XXI.

AN ACHIEVEMENT OF ARMS, PERFORMED BEFORE THE SENESCHAL OF BORDEAUX, BETWEEN A KNIGHT ATTACHED TO FRANCE AND ONE ATTACHED TO ENGLAND.

AT this period, there was an achievement of arms performed by two knights at Bordeaux, in the presence of the seneschal, sir John Harpedon, and other noblemen. These knights were the lord de la Rochefoucault, son to the sister of the capital de Buch, and sir William de Montferrant, attached to the English interest. As this tilt was to be made before all the lords and ladies of Bordeaux, the count de Foix sent thither some knights of his household to advise and direct the lord de la Rochefoucault, who was the son of his cousin, and likewise different sorts of armour, daggers, battle-axes, and swords well

well tempered, although he had before properly provided himself with all things necessary.

These knights armed themselves on the appointed day, and were attended by a numerous body of chivalry. The lord de la Rochefoucault was accompanied by two hundred knights and squires, all connected with him by blood; and sir William de Montferrant by as many, if not more. Among the number were, the lords de Rohan, de l'Esparre, de Duras, de Mucident, de Landuras, de Curton, de Languran, de la Barde, de Tarbe, de Mont-croyat in Perigord, who had come from distant parts because he was their relation, and to be spectators of the feats of arms of two such valiant knights.

When they were mounted, and had their helmets laced on, their spears and shields were given them. They instantly stuck spurs into their horses, and met each other full gallop, with such force, that the laces of the helmets burst asunder, and their helmets were knocked off, so that they passed each other bare-headed, excepting the caps which were under the helmets. 'On my faith,' the spectators said, 'they have gallantly performed their first course.' The knights now had their armour set to rights, and their helmets laced again, when they performed their second and third courses with equal ability. In short, they behaved, in every attack, most gallantly, and to the satisfaction of all present. The sénéchal, sir John Harpedon, entertained at supper, that evening, all the lords and ladies in Bordeaux; and,

and, on the morrow, the company departed, and went to their different homes. The lord de la Rochefoucault made preparations for his journey to Castille; for king John had sent to him, and the time was drawing nigh for him to set out. Sir William de Montferrant, when returned home, made also his preparations to cross the sea to Portugal; for that king had, in like manner, written to him.



## CHAP. XXII.

SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON DELIVERS JOHN OF BLOIS,  
SON OF THE LATE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS,  
FROM HIS LONG IMPRISONMENT IN ENGLAND,  
AND GIVES HIM HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE,  
TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE DUKE OF  
BRITTANY.

**I**N such a grand and noble history as this, of which I, sir John Froissart, am the author and continuator until this present moment, through the grace of God, and that perseverance he has endowed me with, as well as in length of years, which have enabled me to witness abundance of the things that have passed, it is not right that I forget any thing. During the wars of Brittany, the two sons of the lord Charles de Blois (who, for a long time, styled himself duke of Brittany, in right of his lady, Jane of Brittany, who was descended

descended in a direct line from the dukes of Brittany, as has been mentioned in this history\*) were sent to England as hostages for their father, where they still remain in prison; for I have not as yet delivered them from it, nor from the power of the king of England, wherein the lord Charles had put them.

You have before seen† how king Edward of England, to strengthen himself in his war with France, had formed an alliance with the earl of Montfort, whom he had assisted, with advice and forces, to the utmost of his ability, inasmuch, that the earl had succeeded to his wishes, and was duke of Brittany. Had he not been thus supported, the lord Charles de Blois would have possessed seven parts of Brittany and the earl only five.

You have read how, in the year 1347, there was a grand battle before la Roche-derrien, between the forces of the countess of Montfort, and of sir Thomas Hartwell and the lord Charles de Blois, in which the lord Charles was defeated, and carried prisoner to England. He was handsomely entertained there; for that noble queen of England, the good Philippa, (who, in my youth, was my lady and mistress) was, in a direct line, his cousin-german. She did every thing in her power to obtain his freedom, which the council were not willing to grant. Duke Henry of Lancaster, and the other barons of

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\* Vol. i. chap. 15.      † In chap. 69, and the following, vol. i. England,

England, declared, that he ought not to have his liberty; for he had too mighty connections, and that Philip, who called himself king of France, was his uncle: that, as long as they detained him prisoner, their war in Brittany would be the better for it. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, king Edward, through the persuasion of that noble and good lady, his queen, agreed to his ransom, for two hundred thousand nobles; and his two sons were to be given as hostages for the payment of this sum, which was very considerable to the lord Charles, but would not now be so, to a duke of Brittany. The lords of those days were differently situated from what they are at present, when greater resources are found, and they can tax their people at their pleasure. It was not so then, for they were forced to content themselves with the amount of their landed estates; but now, the duchy of Brittany would easily pay for the aid of its lord two hundred thousand nobles within the year, or within two years at the farthest.

Thus were the two young sons of the lord Charles de Blois given up as hostages for the payment of his ransom. He had, afterward, in the prosecution of his war in Brittany, so much to pay his soldiers, and support his rank and state, that he could never, during his lifetime, redeem them. He was slain in the battle at Auray\*, defending his right, by the English allies of the earl of Montfort, and by none others. His death,

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\* Vol. iii.

however,

however, did not put an end to the war; but, king Charles of France, ever fearing the effects of chance, when he saw the earl of Montfort was conquering all Brittany, suspected, should he wholly succeed, that he would hold the duchy independent of paying him homage for it; for he had already held it from the king of England, who had so strenuously assisted him in the war. He therefore negotiated with the earl, which, having been already mentioned\*, I shall pass over here: but the earl remained duke of Brittany, on condition that his homage should be paid to his own right lord, the king of France. The duke was also bound, by the articles of the treaty, to assist in the deliverance of his two cousins, sons of the lord Charles de Blois, who were prisoners to the king of England. In this, however, he never stirred; for he doubted, if they should return, whether they would not give him some trouble, and whether Brittany, which was more inclined towards them than to him, would not acknowledge them as its lord.

For this reason he neglected them, and they remained so long prisoners in England, under the guard, at one time, of sir Roger Beauchamp, a gallant and valiant knight, and his lady Sybilla, at another under sir Thomas d'Ambreticourt, that the youngest brother, Guy of Brittany, died. John of Brittany was now alone prisoner,

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\* Vol. iii.

and frequently bewailed his situation with wonder; for he was sprung from the noblest blood in the world, the advantages of which he had been long deprived of; for he had been thirty-five years in the power of his enemies, and, as he perceived no appearance of help coming to him from any quarter, he would rather have died than thus have existed. His relations and friends kept at a distance, and the sum he was pledged for was so great, that he could never have procured it, without a miracle; for the duke of Anjou, in all his prosperity, though the person who had married his sister-german, by whom he had two fine sons, Lewis and Charles, never once thought of him.

I will now relate how John of Brittany obtained his liberty. You have before read of the earl of Buckingham's expedition, through France, to Brittany, whither the duke had sent for him, because the country would not acknowledge him for its lord. The earl and his army remained the ensuing winter, in great distress, before Nantes and Vannes, until the month of May, when he returned to England.

During the time the earl of Buckingham was at Vannes, you may remember, there were some tilts between knights and squires of France and those of England, and that the constable of France was present. There was much conversation kept up by him and the English knights; for he was acquainted with them all, from his childhood, having been educated in England. He behaved very politely to many of them, as  
men

men at arms usually do, and the French and English in particular, to each other; but, at this moment, he was the more attentive, as he had an object in view, which occupied all his thoughts, and which he had only disclosed to a single person, who was squire of honour in his household, and had served the lord Charles de Blois in the same capacity. If the constable had made it more public, he would not have succeeded as he did, through the mercy of God, and his own perseverance.

The constable and duke of Brittany had for a long time hated each other, whatever outward appearances they might put on. The constable was much hurt at the length of the imprisonment of John of Brittany, and at a time when he was rather on better terms with the duke, said to him,—‘My lord, why do not you exert yourself to deliver your cousin from his imprisonment in England? You are bound to do so by treaty; for when the nobles of Brittany, the prelates and the principal towns, with the archbishop of Rheims, sir John de Craon, and sir Boucicaut, at that time marshal of France, negotiated with you for peace before Quimper Corentin, you swore you would do your utmost to liberate your cousins John and Guy, and as yet you have never done any thing; know, therefore, that the country does not love you the more for it.’ The duke dissembled, and said, ‘Hold your tongue, sir Oliver: where shall I find the three or four hundred thousand francs which are demanded for their liberty?’ ‘My lord,’ re-

plied the constable, 'if Brittany saw you were really in earnest to procure their freedom, they would not murmur at any tax or hearth-money that should be raised to deliver these prisoners, who will die in prison unless God assist them.' 'Sir Oliver,' said the duke, 'my country of Brittany shall never be oppressed by such taxes. My cousins have great princes for their relations; and the king of France or duke of Anjou ought to aid them, for they have always supported them against me. When I swore, indeed, to aid them in their deliverance, it was always my intention that the king of France and their other relations should find the money, and that I would join my entreaties.' The constable could never obtain more from the duke.

The constable, therefore, when at these tournaments at Vannes, saw clearly that the earl of Buckingham and the English barons and squires were greatly dissatisfied with the duke of Brittany, for not having opened his towns to them, as he had promised, when they left England. The English near Hennebion and Vannes were in such distress, that they frequently had not wherewithal to feed themselves, and their horses were dying through famine: they were forced to gather thistles, bruise them in a mortar, and make a paste which they cooked. While they were thus suffering, they said; 'this duke of Brittany does not acquit himself loyally of his promises to us, who have put him in possession of his duchy; and, if we may be believed, we can as easily take it from him as we have given it

it to him, by setting at liberty his enemy, John of Brittany, whom the country love in preference. We cannot any way revenge ourselves better, nor sooner make him lose the country.

The constable was well informed of all these murmurs and discontents, which were no way displeasing to him: on the contrary, for one murmur he wished there had been twelve; but he took no notice of it, and only spoke of what he had heard to this squire, whose name, I think was John Rolland.

It happened that sir John Charlton, governor of Cherbourg, came to château Josselin, where the constable resided, who entertained him and his company most splendidly; and to obtain their friendship, out of his special favour, escorted them himself until they were in safety. During the time of dinner, the before-mentioned squire addressed sir John Charlton, saying, 'Sir John, you can, if you please, do me a very great favour, which will cost you nothing.' 'From friendship to the constable,' replied sir John, 'I wish it may cost me something: what is it you wish me to do?' 'Sir, replied he, 'that I may have your passport to go to England, to my master John of Brittany, whom I am more anxious to see than any thing in the world.' 'By my faith,' said sir John, 'it shall not be my fault if you do not. On my return to Cherbourg, I shall cross over to England: come with me, therefore, and you shall accompany me, and I will have you conducted to him, for your request cannot be refused.' 'A thousand thank

thanks; my lord, I shall ever remember your goodness.'

The squire returned, with sir John Charlton, to Cherbourg; when, having arranged his affairs, he embarked, and made straight for London, attended by John Rolland, whom he had conducted to the castle where John of Brittany was confined. John of Brittany did not, at first, recollect him; but he soon made himself known, and they had a long conversation, in which he told him, that if he would exert himself to procure his freedom, the constable would make the greatest efforts to second him. John of Brittany, desiring nothing more eagerly, asked, 'By what means?' 'I will tell you, my lord: the constable has a handsome daughter whom he wishes to marry, and if you will promise and swear, that on your return to Brittany you will marry her, he will obtain your liberty, as he has discovered the means of doing it.'

John of Brittany replied, 'he would truly do so;' adding, 'When you return to the constable, assure him from me, that there is nothing I am not ready to do for my liberty, and that I accept of his daughter and will cheerfully marry her.' They had several other conversations together before the squire left England and embarked for Brittany, where he related to the constable all that had passed.

The constable, eager to advance himself and marry his daughter so nobly, was not dilatory in searching out means to obtain his end. He considered to whom he should address himself in  
England;

England; and, had he not made choice of the earl of Oxford, he would never have succeeded; but, notwithstanding this nobleman had the complete government of the king, matters were not instantly brought about; for as long as the duke of Lancaster remained in England, he never mentioned any thing concerning it to the king. The earl of Buckingham, on his return from Brittany, irritated the king and his brothers so much against the duke that it was publicly said, the duke had acted treacherously towards him and his army; and they were so greatly angered, that John of Brittany was summoned before the king and council, when he was addressed as follows:—‘John, if you be willing to hold the duchy of Brittany from the king of England, you shall have possession of it, and be married in this country as nobly as the present duke has been;’ (for the duke of Lancaster was desirous of giving him his daughter Philippa, who was afterwards queen of Portugal.) John of Brittany replied, ‘that he would never consent to such a treaty, nor be an enemy to the crown of France: he would willingly accept of the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, but he must first have his liberty.’ On this, he was remanded to prison.

When the earl of Oxford, who now bears the title of the duke of Ireland, found the duke of Lancaster was landed in Castille, and all expectation of the connection with John of Brittany broken off by his carrying his daughter with him, he resolved to solicit the king to give up to him

John

John of Brittany, as a remuneration for past services, or for those he might perform. If he succeeded, he could then treat with the constable of France, who had offered him, as the price of his ransom, six score thousand francs, to be made in two payments of sixty thousand each: the first to be paid at Boulogne on the arrival of John of Brittany in that town, and the second in Paris, which was the place he had fixed on himself.

The duke of Ireland coveted the money, and was so pressing with the king that he gave up John of Brittany absolutely to his disposal; which surprised all England, and caused much talking, but there it ended. The duke of Ireland had John of Brittany conducted to Boulogne, where he found equipages ready which the constable had caused to be prepared for him. He set out directly for Paris, where he was kindly received by the king and his other relations. The constable was there waiting for him, and carried him to Brittany, where he espoused his daughter in conformity to their agreement.

When the duke of Brittany learnt that John of Brittany had obtained his liberty, and was returned to France, through the aid of the constable, he conceived a greater hatred against sir Oliver de Clifton, and said,—‘Indeed! does sir Oliver think to thrust me out of my duchy? He shews some signs of it by ransoming John of Brittany, and marrying him to his daughter. Such things are very displeasing to me; and, by God, I will tell him so some day when he little thinks

thinks of it.' This, in truth, he did; for before the end of the year, he spoke to him very sharply on this subject, as you will hear in the course of this history. But we must now say something respecting the affairs of Castille and Portugal, and of an expedition which the English made against Sluys.

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## CHAP. XXIII.

FRANCE MAKES PREPARATIONS TO ASSIST KING JOHN OF CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON IS APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

YOU have heard how the grand armament of the king of France at Sluys was broken up, not indeed through the will of the king, who was eager to the last to pass over to England, and when he saw it could not be, was the most vexed of any. The whole blame was laid on the duke of Berry: perhaps he saw more clearly into this matter than others, and his advice of not attempting the invasion of England was for the honour and advantage of France; for, before any thing of this sort be undertaken, the end of it should be considered; and the duke of Berry had

had remained so long in England as an hostage for king John, and had conversed so much with Englishmen, he probably foresaw the event would be unfortunate: but the principal reason for putting it off was the season of the year. It was, however, said, that the constable in the course of the summer, should lead thither six thousand men at arms and as many cross-bows, which he and the council thought would be fully sufficient to combat the English. The constable was supposed to know this from his having been educated in England.

On the return of the lords to France, it was considered who should be sent to the aid of king John of Castille, against the king of Portugal and duke of Lancaster: for it was clear there would be deeds of arms, as the English kept the field. None could be sent thither without much cost; for the distance was great, and there was not any money in the exchequer, nor in the hands of the receivers: the immense sums which had been raised from the people were all dissipated. Recourse was, therefore, had to a tax that should be instantly levied, and published as being for the assistance of the king of Castille, and the expulsion of the English from that country. This tax having been proclaimed, the king's commissioners came to the different towns, and said to the principal inhabitants,—‘Sirs, this city, or this town, is taxed at such a sum, which must be instantly paid.’ ‘Very well,’ they replied, ‘we will collect it, and send the whole amount to Paris.’ ‘That will not do,’

said the commissioners: 'we cannot wait so long, and shall act more expeditiously.' On saying this, they ordered, in the king's name, which protected them from harm, ten or twelve of the richest inhabitants to prison, unless they should find the money. These, being afraid of the king's displeasure, soon brought the sum required, which they afterwards collected from the townsmen. The taxes were so frequent, that one was scarcely paid, before another was called for.

Thus was the noble kingdom of France governed, and the poor oppressed; which caused numbers to sell their houses and lands, and retire to Hainault, or the bishoprick of Liege, where no such taxes existed.

The leaders of the troops destined to Castille were next thought of. The gallant duke of Bourbon was chosen commander in chief; but, before he left France, it was resolved to appoint two other commanders, to attend to the men at arms, and instruct those who had never been in Castille. The duke was to have two thousand lances, of knights and squires, for his rear-ward, of as good men as could be found. The two knights appointed to lead the van, and to command the first division, were sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac; and, on receiving their orders, they made every preparation suitable to their rank.

Knights and squires were summoned, throughout France, to go on this expedition: and all the passes into Castille were thrown open, as well

well through Arragon as through Navarre. Many, therefore, came from all the different provinces of the kingdom, and took the road to Castille. Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac had the command of them, and set out in grand array.

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## CHAP. XXIV.

THE ENGLISH FLEET DEFEATS THAT OF SIR JOHN DE BUCQ, ADMIRAL OF FLANDERS FOR THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER DOING MUCH MISCHIEF TO SLUYS, AND THAT PART OF THE COUNTRY, RETURN TO LONDON.

**W**HILE these knights and squires of France were making themselves ready to march for Castille, and each, as soon as prepared, set off, more especially from the distant parts, as the journey was long; the English fleet was at sea, between the coasts of England and Flanders. The earl of Arundel was admiral of it; but he had under him the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Nottingham and the bishop of Norwich, with five hundred men at arms and one thousand archers, and they were cruising about in search of their enemies.

They received supplies of provisions from the English coast, the islands of Cornwall, Brittany and Normandy; but were much vexed that the Flemish fleet had escaped into la Rochelle, and still

still more, that the constable of France should have passed Calais, from Treguier to Sluys, without their having met him. They were desirous of engaging him, though he had as many vessels as themselves; but he sailed through them in the night, with a favourable wind and tide.

The fleet, after this, anchored in Margate-roads, at the mouth of the Thames, to wait for the return of the Flemings from la Rochelle, which they knew would soon happen. The merchants from Flanders, Hainault and several other parts, who had sailed in a body for fear of the English, having loaded their vessels again with wines, set sail from the port of la Rochelle, with a favourable wind, for Flanders and for Sluys, from whence they had come. They had passed the Ras-St.-Matthieu\*, in Brittany, and coasted the shores of Normandy and England, until they came to the mouth of the Thames, where the English fleet were lying at anchor. The Flemings descried their masts; and those aloft said,—‘Gentlemen, prepare yourselves, for we shall meet the English fleet: they have seen us, and will take advantage of the wind and tide to give us battle before night.’ This intelligence was not very agreeable to several of the merchants from Hainault and other countries, who having their goods on board, would have wished to have sheered off. However, as a combat was now un-

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\* Ras-St.-Matthieu, I suppose, must mean Ras-de-Blanquet, which is a narrow strait of the sea between Alderney and Cape la Hogue.

avoidable,

avoidable, they made preparations for it; and they had, of cross-bows and other armed men, upwards of seven hundred, under the command of a noble and valiant knight of Flanders, called sir John de Bucq, who was admiral of the Flemish seas for the duke of Burgundy, and who had done much mischief to the English at sea.

Sir John de Bucq, having ably and prudently drawn up his vessels, said to their crews, — ‘ My fair sirs; do not be alarmed, for we are enow to combat the English, should the wind be in our favour; but remember to make a running fight of it, and make for Sluys: if we can draw them on the Flemish coast, we shall have the best of the day.’ Some were comforted by these words, others not; but they continued their preparations for battle, and the gunners made ready their bows and cannons.

The two fleets now approached each other. The English had some light galleys in which they had embarked archers; and these galleys advancing, by dint of oars, began the combat with a shower of arrows, which were lost; for the Flemings sheltered themselves in their vessels and were unhurt, while they sailed on before the wind. Some of the cross-bows, out of arrow shot, let fly bolts, which wounded many, and prevented those in the galleys from being of any service. The large ships, under lord Arundel, the bishop of Norwich and others now advanced, and ran in among those of Flanders, but they had not any advantage; for the cross-bow  
men

men defended themselves gallantly, as their commander, sir John de Bucq, had advised them. He and his company were well armed, in a ship equal to any he might meet, and had their cannons on board, which shot balls of such a weight that great mischief was done. The Flemings, during the engagement, made as much sail as they could for Flanders; indeed, some of the merchant-ships had already gained the coast, and had run into shoal water, where the large ships could not follow them for fear of the sand-bank.

This battle was very long and obstinate, for it continued three or four hours, and many of the vessels were sunk by the large bolts of iron, sharply pointed, that were cast down from the tops, and drove holes through them. When night came on, they separated and cast anchor, to repair their damages and take care of the wounded; but, on the return of the tide, they set their sails and renewed the combat. Peter du Bois commanded a body of archers and failors, and gave the Flemings enough to do; for, having been a failor himself, he knew how to act, and was enraged at the Flemings, for having held out so long. The English continually gained on the Flemings, and, having got between them and Blanquenberg and Sluys, drove them to Cadfand, where the defeat was completed. They received no succour, for at this time there were neither men at arms nor vessels in Sluys fit for sea.

Indeed, a squire of Sluys, called Arnold le Maire,

Maire, when he heard of the engagement, embarked on board a handsome sloop of his own, taking with him some serjeants, and about twenty cross-bows, and made sail for the fleet; but it was towards the end of the defeat, for the English had taken the greater part of the enemy's ships, with their admiral, sir John de Bucq, and all on board. Arnold le Maire, perceiving it was over, made his cross-bows shoot thrice, and then made off: he was chased as far as the harbour of Sluys, and there escaped, from the large vessels being unable to follow him, through the shoals and low water.

The town of Sluys was thunderstruck when it was known that their fleet from la Rochelle had been conquered by the English, and every moment expected to be attacked. The inhabitants knew not how to act, whether to fly or embark on board their laid-up vessels, to wait the event and defend themselves. Had the English suspected the state of Sluys, they might have been lords of that town and castle, or had they followed the advice of Peter du Bois, who strongly recommended, when they were masters of the fleet, to make for Sluys, which they would be sure to gain. The English, however, thought they had done sufficient; and some said, 'We shall commit a great folly if we enter Sluys; for those of Bruges, Damme and Ardembourg will shut us up in it, and we shall thus lose all we have won. It is much better that we keep our prizes, and make war with prudence.'

The English, therefore, did not disembark, but contented themselves with attempting to burn the  
vessels

vessels that were in the harbour. They selected the lightest vessels from those they had conquered, and filling and bedaubing them with pitch, oil, and other combustibles, let them float with the tide into the harbour of Sluys. These vessels burnt so clear and well, that the English hoped they would set fire to some large ships from Castille and other countries, indifferent to them which; but they did not the smallest damage to any. The English, by this victory, gained great wealth, especially in wine, as they captured more than nine thousand tons, which caused wine to be as dear in Flanders and Hainault all that year as it was of course cheap in England. Thus it happens, one man's gain is another's loss. The English, however, did not sail from Sluys, but remained at anchor, and from the galleys and barges, landed on the opposite side of the river to Sluys, at Tremue, which they burnt, with the monastery, and some other towns on the coast, whither they went along the sea-shore, or on the dykes, called Tournehonque and Murdeques. They made many of the countrymen prisoners, and lay thus at anchor upwards of ten days; during which time they formed several ambuscades between Damme and Sluys, and on the road to Coclear\*. Sir John de Launay, a man at arms from Tournay, was there made a prisoner, who, in company with the lord d'Estrenay and sir Blanquart de Coulange, had set out full gal-

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\* Coclear. Q. Coxye.

lop, with forty lances, for Sluys, on hearing the English were on the coast.

It fortunately happened, that sir Robert Marchand, who had married one of the late earl's bastards, was at the time in Bruges: he instantly hastened to Sluys, and flung himself into the castle, which he found weakly guarded, and unprovided. But if the English had landed, and entered Sluys with the same earnestness they had done at Tremue on the other side of the river, they must have gained the castle; for so great was the alarm in the town that no one paid attention to any thing, nor thought of defending themselves. Sir Robert Marchand encouraged them, by saying,—‘ You men of Sluys, what are you thinking of? It would seem from your appearance, that you are defeated without striking a blow. Men of valour ought to shew a good countenance as long as possible; and, should they be taken or slain in their own defence, they will have the grace of God and praise of the world.’

Thus did sir Robert harangue those of Sluys; notwithstanding which, the whole country, as far as Bruges, was under the utmost alarm as long as the English remained on the coast; for they now daily disembarked, and foraged far in the country. Not having horses, they were always on foot: when their expeditions were ended, they slept on board, and on the morrow renewed their excursions to the east and west, without opposition. They burnt the town of Coxye, and another large village on the road  
from

from the coast to Ardembourg, called Hofembourg: they would have done more if they had known the state of the country. After staying as long as they pleased, and finding no attempt made to regain what they had won on sea and land, they set sail with a favourable wind for England, carrying with them more than two hundred thousand francs of wealth. Having entered the Thames, they landed at London, where they were joyfully received for the fine wines of Poitou and Saintonge they had on board, which were intended to have been drunk in Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Liege and other places. They were dispersed throughout England, and the prices so much depressed from the quantity, a gallon was sold for fourpence. The English, who resided on the frontiers of Flanders, Holland and Zealand were too enterprising in their voyages to Dordrecht, Zuric-zee, Middlebourg, and the Brielle in Holland. Some of the merchants of Zuric-zee had, on board the fleet that was captured, much wine from la Rochelle, which was restored to them. The English were right in thus courteously treating them; for Zuric-zee would never join the French in their invasion of England, nor permit them to have any vessels or boats from thence, and this conduct acquired them the love of the English.

Sir John de Bucq was a prisoner at London, on his word: he was permitted to go any where about the town, but at sun-set he was to return to his lodging; nor would the English ever listen

to any ransom for him, though the duke of Burgundy would willingly have given in exchange a bastard brother of the king of Portugal, who had been taken at sea in coming from Middlebourg: had he been within the limits of Zealand, he would have escaped. I believe sir John de Bucq remained a prisoner in London for three years, and there died.

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## CHAP. XXV.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER TO CONCLUDE HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY PHILIPPA.—SIR BARROIS DES BARRES IS ORDERED BY THE KING OF CASTILLE TO THE CASTLE OF NOYA\*.

**I**T is time for us now to return to the affairs of Castille and Portugal, and to speak of the duke of Lancaster, as to the prosperity of his undertakings, for his concerns were not trifling; and likewise to mention the aid France sent king John of Castille, for otherwise his fortunes would have made a small figure: he would have lost this year his whole kingdom, if it had not been for the friendship of the king of France. Intelligence is soon spread abroad, and the king of Portugal was as quickly informed of what was doing in France, relative to the great armament that was to invade England, by his

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\* Noya is an ancient town in Galicia, five or six leagues to the westward of Sant Jago.

merchants on their return home, as the duke of Lancaster; for the king resided, at that season, at Oporto, which is one of the largest cities and the most frequented port of his realm. He was rejoiced to hear it was at an end, for he had been told England would be ruined; and this had made him hesitate as to the conclusion of his marriage, amusing the duke and duchess with fine words and compliments.

When he learnt for certain, that the king of France and his nobles were returned home, he summoned his council, and said,—‘My fair sirs, you know that the duke and duchess of Lancaster are in Galicia: you also know, a great affection subsists between us, and that we have had several conferences; in one of which it has been proposed by our councils, that I should take the lady Philippa to wife. I mean to persevere in this business, and to make an honourable demand of her, as is becoming two such princes as the duke of Lancaster and myself; for I will have her for my queen.’ ‘Sir,’ replied those to whom he addressed himself, ‘you are in the right, for so you have solemnly promised and sworn.’ ‘Now, whom shall we send to conduct the lady hither?’ The archbishop of Braganza and sir John Radighes de Sar were named; and as they were not present, they were sent for, and informed how they were to act. They undertook the business with pleasure, and were escorted going and returning by two hundred spears.

We will now speak of sir Thomas Moreaux’s

siege

siege of Ribadavia, and relate what happened there. I believe the inhabitants expected succours from the king of Castille and the French knights at Validolid, otherwise they would not have held out; and I know not how such peasants, who had none but themselves to advise with, could so vigorously have opposed the flower of the English army, and how it happened that they were not frightened, for every day there were skirmishes and assaults. The bravest captains of the army said to sir Thomas, — ‘Let us leave this town, and may lightning destroy it, and advance further into the country; towards Mamez\*, Noya, or Besances†: we can at any time return hither.’ ‘By my faith,’ replied sir Thomas, ‘such peasants shall never have it to say they have defeated me, were I to remain here these two months, unless the duke shall otherwise order.’ The marshal was thus obstinate in continuing the siege.

King John received frequent intelligence, at Validolid, how the men of Ribadavia were defending themselves valiantly, and would not surrender. In God’s name, said Barrois des Barres, ‘I am much vexed I had not sent thither some Frenchmen, who would have greatly encouraged the inhabitants, and still more that I did not go myself, for I should then have acquired all the honour which these peasants will now have; and, if they had really told me it

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\* Mamez. Q. Muros. † Besances. Q. Betances, or Entença.

was a town of such strength, and that it required such a garrison, I would, without doubt, have reinforced it, and have personally risked the command; and God would have given me grace to guard and defend it, as he has done to these peasants.'

Such were the conversations that frequently passed between the king of Castille and the French knights, who were eager to be employed. They said to the king,—'It will be right, sir, that you send one hundred spears to the castles of Noya and Corunna, and they will defend those parts of Galicia situated between these two castles.' 'And whom can we send thither?' Several knights instantly offered their services, such as sir Tristan de Roye, sir Reginald and sir Lambert de Braquemont, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir John de Châtelmorant and sir Barrois des Barres, whom the king heard with pleasure, and said; 'My fair sirs, I give you many thanks for your willingness; but you cannot all go: some must remain with me in case of accidents: and, for the present, I shall entreat sir Barrois des Barres, if he please to undertake this business.' The Barrois was much delighted on hearing this, for he had too long remained idle, and replied,—'Sir king, I thank you: I will defend them to the utmost of my power; and, when I am once within them, I will never depart without your special order.' 'By God,' said the king, 'I believe we shall soon have news from France.' The knights were ignorant of the decampment from Sluys, though

though the king knew it; for the duke of Bourbon had written to him the whole account, and what was going forward in France; how he was to come to Castille with three thousand spears; but that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were first to clear the passes, with an equal number of lances. He asked the knights if they wished to hear news. 'Ah, fire, tell us some from France, for we are very anxious to hear from thence.' 'Willingly, replied the king. He then told them, that the duke of Bourbon was appointed by the king of France and his council, commander in chief of all the forces sent to Castille, which amounted to six thousand spears; that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were to lead the van, of three thousand knights and squires, and were then on their march; that the invasion of England was deferred until May, when the constable of France, the count de St. Pol and the lord de Coucy, should there land, with four thousand lances. 'What do you say to this?' asked the king. 'What do we say, fire,' replied the knights, who were rejoiced: 'we say that it is delightful news, and we cannot have better; and, in the course of the summer, many gallant deeds will be done in your country; for, if they have ordered six thousand, nine thousand will come. We shall certainly combat the English, who now keep the field; and, before St. John's day, we will shut them up.'

'On my faith, said each of the knights, 'the three you have named are gallant men, especially

ally the duke of Bourbon : and the other two are well qualified to command men at arms.'

The news of this army coming from France was soon known in Validolid, and throughout Castille; and that it had been ordered to arrive by the first of May, to the great comfort of all, and joy of the knights and squires.

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## CHAP. XXVI.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER SENDS A REINFORCEMENT TO THE SIEGE OF RIBADAVIA.—ON THAT TOWN BEING TAKEN BY STORM, MAURES\* INSTANTLY SURRENDERS.

SIR Barrois des Barres left the king of Castille in Validolid, and accompanied by only fifty spears, rode towards the town of Noya. News was brought to sir Thomas Moreaux's army, but I know not by whom, that the French were on their march, to the amount of five hundred lances, to raise the siege of Ribadavia. Sir Thomas too easily believed this intelligence; for those who had told it affirmed it for truth, and that they had seen them on their march, on this side the river Duero, and encamped at Villalpando. The marshal was advised to let the duke of Lancaster have infor-

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\* Maures. Q. Muros.

mation of this, which he did, by sending to him sir John d'Ambreticourt, and a herald well acquainted with the roads in Galicia. He himself was always on his guard, lest he should be surprised in the night, and one half of his army was on duty, while the other half slept. When the arrival of sir John and the herald at Sant Jago, where the duke and duchess resided, was known, the duke said they have brought some intelligence, and, sending for them, asked the news. 'Good news, my lord: the marshal sends me hither to know how you would wish him to act; for he has learnt for certain, that the French have assembled a strong body in Castille, and are on their march to cross the river, and engage with our men before Ribadavia. This is the news I have brought.' 'In God's name,' replied he, 'it is news enough, but we will soon provide a remedy.' He looked at sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy, his constable and admiral, and said to them; 'Take three hundred spears and five hundred archers, and join our companions before Ribadavia, who are looking for the French coming to attack them.' They replied, they would cheerfully obey, and, making themselves ready, set out with the above mentioned force, and arrived before Ribadavia, to the great joy of their countrymen.

Sir John Holland said to the marshal,—'What do these fellows of Ribadavia mean? will they not surrender?' 'No, by my faith,' replied sir Thomas, 'they are so presumptuous: notwithstanding

ing they have seen all the neighbouring towns do so, they obstinately follow their own inclinations. They are but peasants; for not one gentleman is in the town.' 'Say no more,' answered sir John: 'before four days we will put them in such plight, that they will gladly surrender to any who will shew them mercy; but tell the admiral and me, are the French abroad?' 'I was so informed,' said sir Thomas; 'and was assured there were upwards of five hundred in one body. This is very probable; for men at arms are continually coming from France to Castille. I afterwards heard, that only sir Barrois des Barres had entered the castle of Noya with fifty lances, and I know nothing more of them.'

The conversation now ceased; and the new comers were lodged among them as well as circumstances would admit, and were well served from the provision which had followed them. Four days after the arrival of sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy, great preparations were made for a general assault; and a large machine of timber was built, and mounted on wheels, which could be pushed any where. It would contain, with ease, one hundred men at arms, and the same number of archers; but, for this attack, it was filled with archers only, and the ditches were levelled where it was intended to pass.

When the attack commenced, this machine was wheeled up to the walls by main force; and the archers, being well provided with arrows,

shot

shot vigorously on their enemies, who returned it by throwing darts and such other missile weapons, as was wonderful to behold. The roof of this machine was covered with strong ox-hides to shelter them from the effects of the stones and the darts: underneath were men at arms well shielded, that with pick-axes worked hard, and with success against the walls; for the townsmen could not prevent them for fear of the archers, who gave them full employment. At length, a large breach was made in the wall, and a considerable part thrown into the ditch; which when the Galicians perceived, they were so dismayed, that they cried loudly, 'We surrender, we surrender!' No one made any answer; but the English laughed at them, and said, 'These peasants have done us much mischief, and mock us by now offering to surrender, for the town is ours.' Some of the English replied, 'If you wish to say any thing to us, it must be in good French or English, for we do not understand Castillian,' and kept advancing and slaying those who were flying before them. They killed them in heaps; and that day there were fifteen hundred put to death, including Jews, many of whom were resident in the town. Thus was Ribadavia taken by storm: those who first entered it gained great pillage, especially from the houses of the Jews, wherein they found more wealth in money than elsewhere. After the town had been plundered, the marshal was asked what he intended doing with it, and if they should set it on fire. 'Oh no,'

no,' replied he: 'we will keep it, and make it as strong as any town in Galicia.'

After they had consulted whither to go next, they determined to march to Muros, another tolerably good town in Galicia. The garrison of Ribadavia, consisting of twenty spears and sixty archers, was put under the command of sir Peter Clinton, a valiant knight and expert man at arms. The army carried away much provision from the town, which was well stored, particularly in pork and wines: these last were so strong and fiery, they could scarcely drink them; and, when any of the English drank too much, they were disabled for two days. On their departure from Ribadavia, they took the road towards Muros, and had their large machine taken to pieces and brought after them, for they found it had caused great alarm to many other towns.

When the inhabitants of Muros heard that the English were on their march to attack them, that Ribadavia had been stormed and numbers put to death, and that they had with them a devil of a machine, so great and wonderful it could not be destroyed, they were much frightened thereat, and were apprehensive what the English might do to them. They held a council, whether they should defend the town or not, and thought it would be more for their advantage to surrender; for, should the town be stormed, they would lose their lives and fortunes, and they saw no hopes of aid from any quarter.

'Consider;

‘Consider,’ said some of the most prudent, ‘what has been the consequence of the defence of Ribadavia, which was much stronger than our town: they held out for near a month, but no reinforcements were sent them. The king of Castille, as we understand, looks on all Galicia, as far as the river Duero, as lost, and you will never, this year, see any of the French enter it. Let us, therefore, handsomely surrender, without making any opposition, in the like manner the other towns of Castille have done.’

‘It is well said,’ the hearers replied, and they unanimously agreed to adopt this opinion. ‘But how shall we manage it?’ said some of them. ‘In God’s name,’ replied those who proposed the surrender, ‘we will go out to meet the English, and present them the keys of our town; for they are a civil people, and will not hurt us: if we receive them kindly, we shall have their thanks.’

Having determined on this plan, fifty of the principal inhabitants went out of the town as soon as they heard the English were approaching, and waited on the road, about a quarter of a league off. News was brought to the English army, that those of Muros had come out of their town, not in hostile array, but with the intention of surrendering and offering the keys of the place, which they had brought with them. Some of the lords rode forward to know the truth of it, but ordered the army to halt until their return. As they were advancing, townsmen were told, ‘Here come three of the  
the

the principal lords of England, sent by the duke of Lancaster to conquer the country: speak to them.' On which, they cast themselves on their knees, and said; 'My lords, behold the poor inhabitants of Muros, who are desirous to put themselves under the obedience of the duke and duchess of Lancaster: we therefore entreat you to receive us in your favour, for all we have is yours.'

The three lords, having consulted together, replied,—'Good people, we will return with you to your town, and enter it with part of our army, but not all, and there you shall take such oaths as good subjects ought to their lord or lady.' They answered, they would cheerfully do so. 'Now, then,' said the lords, 'go back, and open your gates, for your surrender is accepted.' They flung open the gates and barriers for the constable and other lords, who might amount to four hundred lances, but not more: the rest remained without the walls, but had much provision from the town, wherein the leaders were lodged, and where they made the townsmen take the usual oaths of obedience.

## CHAP. XXVII.

THE LADY PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER IS MARRIED,  
BY PROCURATION, TO THE KING OF PORTU-  
GAL.—THE CEREMONY IS AGAIN PERFORMED  
WITH GREAT MAGNIFICENCE AND FEASTINGS  
AT OPORTO.

**O**N the morrow, after the surrender of Muros, when the knights were preparing for their march towards Betanços, a messenger from the duke of Lancaster arrived with letters, ordering them to return instantly, whatever might be their situation; for he was daily expecting the archbishop of Braganza and sir John Radighes de Sar, ambassadors from the king of Portugal, who were to marry his daughter by procuration, and conduct her to that king at Oporto, where he was waiting for her.

Sir John Holland, the marshal and admiral, on learning this, altered their plans, and said it was proper that their lord the duke, when he received ambassadors from the king of Portugal, should have all his council with him. Having placed sufficient garrisons in the towns they had won, they said they would not attempt more until the month of May, and returned to Sant Jago, whither the duke had sent for them.

Three

Three days after their arrival, came the archbishop of Braganza and sir John Radighes de Sar, who entered the town of Sant Jago with two hundred horse, where they were all lodged, every thing having been prepared for them.

When the archbishop, with the knights and lords in his company, had refreshed themselves, they waited on the duke and duchess of Lancaster in grand array, who received them most graciously. They then declared the motive of the embassy, which the duke heard with pleasure; for he was rejoiced at the exaltation of his daughter, and the connection with the king of Portugal, which was very opportune, if he persevered in his intention of conquering Castille. The archbishop explained, to the satisfaction of the duke and his council, that by power of the king's procuration, he was authorised to espouse personally the lady Philippa of Lancaster, in the name of don John king of Portugal. During the residence of these ambassadors at Sant Jago, the ceremony was performed by virtue of the above-mentioned procuration; and the archbishop of Braganza and the lady Philippa were courteously laid beside each other, on a bed, as married persons should be. This being done, on the morrow the lady and her attendants were ready to depart; and, having bidden adieu to her father and mother, she mounted her palfrey, as did her damsels, and her bastard sister, the wife of the marshal, who accompanied her to Portugal. Sir John Holland, sir Thomas Percy and sir John d'Ambreticourt were ordered to escort her, with

one hundred spears and two hundred archers. They followed the road to Oporto, and, when near, were met by the king and his court, with all the prelates at that time in Oporto, to do her honour; such as the bishops of Lisbon, Evora, Coimbra and Oporto: among the barons were, the counts d'Angouise, de Novaire, de l'Escalle, Galopès Fernando Portelet, Vasco Martin de Merlo, with upwards of forty knights, and great crowds of ladies and other persons, and the whole of the clergy in their holiday dresses. Thus was the lady Philippa conducted to the king's palace at Oporto, where she dismounted. The king took her by the hand and kissed her, performing the same ceremony to all the ladies who had accompanied her, and then led her to her apartments, where he took leave of her and her companions.

The English lords and their men were lodged in the town, which is of considerable size; and this night they kept the vigil of the feast by carolling, dancing and other amusements, until the morrow's dawn. On Tuesday morning, the king of Portugal, the prelates and lords of his country were dressed by eight o'clock, and, mounting their horses at the palace gate, rode to the cathedral called St. Mary's church, where they waited for the queen. She followed shortly after, attended by her ladies and damsels; and, though the ambassadors had before espoused her in the king's name, the ceremony was again performed; which done, they returned to the palace, where were grand and solemn feasting. In the afternoon

noon were tilts and tournaments before the king and queen; and in the evening the prizes were distributed. Sir John Holland gained the one destined for strangers; and that for the natives was won by a knight attached to the king, sir John Testad'oro. The day and night passed thus jovially in various amusements. That night the king lay with the queen; and it was reported by those who were near his person, that he had hitherto been perfectly chaste, and had never known woman.

On the morrow the feasting and joustings were renewed, when sir Vasco Martin de Merlo gained one prize, and sir John d'Ambreticourt the other. The night was spent, as before, in carollings, dancing and other sports; and while the English staid at Oporto, there were tournaments every day.

With such rejoicings was the queen of Portugal received on her arrival at Oporto. They lasted upwards of ten days; and the king made all the strangers, on their departure, such gifts as satisfied them. The English lords, having taken leave of the king and queen of Portugal, returned to Sant Jago. The duke and duchess of Lancaster made great inquiries, and were told all that had passed; that the king saluted them, and that the queen recommended herself to their love. Sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy added,—‘My lord, the last words the king said to us were, that you might take the field when you pleased, for that he would join you and enter Castille.’ ‘That is good news, indeed,’ replied the duke.

About fifteen days after the return of the lords from Portugal, the duke of Lancaster ordered them to prepare for conquering the remaining towns in Galicia, for there were several he was not master of. It was settled by the council of the duke, that when he should depart from Sant Jago, the duchess and her daughter Catherine should visit the king and young queen of Portugal, at Oporto. The town of Sant Jago was placed under the command of an English knight, called sir Lewis Clifford, with thirty spears, and one hundred archers, for his garrison.

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## CHAP. XXVIII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARCHES HIS ARMY TO ENTENÇA.—THE INHABITANTS SEND, WITH THE CONSENT OF THE DUKE, TO THE KING OF CASTILLE FOR SUCCOUR.

**W**HEN the duke of Lancaster marched from Sant Jago, he left no more in garrison than those already mentioned. He rode on, in company with his duchess, towards the city of Entença, which is a good town in one of the extremities of Galicia, and the last on the borders of Portugal, in the direct road from Sant Jago to Oporto and Coimbra. They had taken this line of march, because the duchess and her daughter were to visit Portugal.

The inhabitants of Entença, hearing that the  
duke

duke and his army were advancing against them, held a council to consider what conduct they should pursue. After many debates, it was at length agreed that they should send six of their principal men to the duke and duchess, to entreat they might not be attacked for eight days only, when they would let the king of Castille know their situation, and if he sent them no aid they would surrender unconditionally. The six citizens, on leaving the town, took the road the English were coming, and first met the van-guard under the command of the marshal, by whom they were instantly arrested. They said, they were deputed by the inhabitants of Entença to parley with the duke. Upon which the marshal said to Sir John Sounder, who was by his side; 'Conduct these men to my lord; for it will be necessary to escort them, or they may be slain by our archers.' The knight replied, he would take care of them; and then the marshal said, 'Go, go, this knight will conduct you.' They all departed, and rode together until they came up with the duke and duchess, who had dismounted, and were sitting under some fine olive trees, attended by Sir John Holland, Sir Thomas Percy and others. On seeing Sir John Sounder approach, they eyed him well; and Sir John Holland said,—'Fair brother, Sounder, are these prisoners thine?' 'They are not prisoners, sir, but men from Entença whom the marshal has ordered me to conduct to my lord; and from what I can learn, they wish to treat with him.' The duke and duchess heard all this; and Sir

John

John Sounder continued, 'Come forward, my good people: you see your lord and lady.'

Upon this the six men advanced, and, casting themselves on their knees, thus spoke,—'Our most redoubted lord and lady, the commonalty of the town of Entença, hearing you were marching your army against them, have sent us hither to entreat you would delay advancing further for eight or nine days only, in which time they will send to the king of Castille, in Validolid, an account of the great peril they are in; and if, during those nine days, they be not reinforced sufficiently to offer you combat, they will put themselves fully under your obedience. In the mean time, should you or your army be in want of provision or stores, those of the town will cheerfully serve you with both for your money.'

The duke made no reply, leaving it to the duchess, as she was from that country. She looked at the duke, and said, 'Well, my lord, what do you say?' 'Lady what do you say? you are the heirs of this country, and, as the inheritance comes through you, you must reply.' 'It will be right then, my lord, that their offer be accepted; for I do not believe that the king of Castille has any desire to combat you so soon.' 'I do not know that,' answered the duke: 'God grant it may happen otherwise: we shall the sooner put an end to the business; and I wish it were to take place within six days; but, since you are desirous their offer be accepted, I consent.'

The duchess then addressed the deputies, saying,—'You may return, for your offer is accepted;

cepted; but you must deliver up to the marshal twelve of your principal citizens, as pledges for the due performance of the treaty.' They replied they would do so, and, rising up, were given to the care of sir John Sounder, who conducted them back to the marshal, and told him what had passed, which gave him satisfaction. The deputies returned to their town and related the success of their mission. Twelve of the principal inhabitants were sent to the marshal, and the place was unmolested, on the terms mentioned. In another council they resolved to send the same six men, and no others, to inform the king of Castille of their situation. They rode to Validolid, where the king resided, with part of his council, and, their arrival being notified to him, he was eager to see them, to learn the news and talk with them; for he was ignorant of the treaty they had entered into, and that the English were before Entença.

## CHAP. XXIX.

THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER AND HER DAUGHTER VISIT THE KING AND QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.—THE INHABITANTS OF ENTENÇA RECEIVING NEITHER ANSWER NOR SUCCOUR FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, SURRENDER TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THEIR TREATY.

WHILE these six deputies were journeying towards Validolid, the duke of Lancaster gave directions for the departure of his duchess and daughter, the lady Catharine, to visit the king and queen of Portugal. On their setting out, the duke said,—‘ Constance, you will salute from me the king my son, my daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and give them all the intelligence you can; how Entença has entered into a treaty with me; but that I doubt if John de Transmare, your adversary, will allow them to keep it, or whether he will offer me battle; for well I know that great reinforcements are to come to him from France, and those who are eager for renown will hasten to Castille as speedily as possible. It will be necessary for me to be daily on my guard, in expectation of an engagement, which you will tell the king and his barons; and that, if I shall learn any thing for certain of a combat being likely to take place, I will instantly

stantly signify it to the king of Portugal. Desire him from me, to be well prepared to come to our assistance, in the defence of our right, as he has solemnly sworn to do in the treaties concluded between us. You will return to me; but leave our daughter Catharine with her sister, the queen of Portugal, for she cannot be better placed, nor more in safety.' 'My lord,' replied the duchess, 'all this I will cheerfully perform.'

The duchess, her daughter, and the ladies and damsels who accompanied them, took their leave and departed. They were escorted to Oporto by the admiral, sir Thomas Percy, sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Talbot, sir John d'Ambreticourt and sir Maubrun de Linieres, with one hundred spears and two hundred archers. The king of Portugal, hearing the duchess of Lancaster and her daughter were on the road, was much pleased, and sent some of his principal courtiers to meet them, such as the counts d'Angoules, de Noyaire, sir John Radighes de Sar, sir John Fernando Portelet, sir Vasco Martin de Merlo, sir Egeas Colle, and twenty other knights. They rode two long leagues before they met the ladies, who received them graciously and gaily. The duchess politely made acquaintance with the different knights, and, as they rode together, she conversed with much affability among them all. Thus did they arrive at Oporto, when the duchess and her ladies were conducted to the palace. The king was the first who waited on them, and kissed them all round; then came the queen, attended by her ladies, and received her lady-mother and sister

most

most kindly and honourably. The whole palace was rejoiced at the arrival of these ladies; but I will not pretend to speak very particularly of what passed, for I was not there: all I know was from that gallant knight, sir John Fernando Portelet, who was present.

The duchess took a proper opportunity to deliver the duke's message to the king of Portugal, who replied with prudence and friendship,—‘Lady and cousin, I am prepared, should the king of Castille take the field, with three thousand lances, who are stationed on the borders of Castille, whom I can collect in three days, and I shall also bring with me full twenty thousand men from the commonalty of the country, who are not to be despised, for they were of the greatest service to me at the battle of Aljubarota.’ ‘Sir,’ said the duchess, ‘you say well, and I am greatly thankful to you; and if my lord gain any further intelligence, he will instantly let you know.’ Such was the conversation that passed between the king of Portugal and the duchess of Lancaster.

We will now return to Entença, and say what success their deputies had at Validolid. On their being introduced to the king of Castille, they cast themselves on their knees, and said,—‘Most redoubted lord, if you will condescend to listen to us, we have been sent hither by your town of Entença, which has been forced to enter into a treaty with the duke and duchess of Lancaster. The terms of which are, that the English will abstain from any attack for nine days; and if,  
within

within that time, you shall come in sufficient force to offer them combat and resist the duke, the town will remain yours: but, if not, the town has given up hostages to surrender it to them. You will be pleased, most redoubted lord, to say what you will do.' The king replied, that 'he would advise upon it, and they should have an answer.' He then left them, and retired to his chamber. I am ignorant if he summoned his council or not, or how the matter was managed; but these six men were there for eight days without obtaining any answer, nor did they again see the king.

The day came for the surrender of the town before any of the deputies returned. The duke, therefore, sent his marshal to Entença, on the tenth day, to say, that if the town were not surrendered, according to the terms of the treaty, he would instantly cut off the heads of the hostages. The marshal, on arriving at the barriers, whither he summoned the inhabitants, thus addressed them,—'My good people, the duke of Lancaster sends me to know why you have not brought him the keys of the town, and put yourselves under his obedience, as you were in duty bound? The nine days expired, as you know, yesterday. If you do not instantly comply, he will order the heads of the hostages to be struck off, and then march hither to storm the town, when you will all be slain, without mercy, like to those of Ribadavia.'

The men of Entença, hearing this, were much afraid, not only for themselves, but also for their friends

friends who were pledged for the observance of the treaty, and replied,—‘ In good truth, my lord marshal, the duke has reason for saying what you tell us; but we know not what is become of the deputies we sent to the king of Castille, nor what can have kept them at Validolid.’ ‘ Sirs, they may perhaps be confined,’ said the marshal; ‘ for the news they carried could not be very pleasant to the king, and my lord will not longer wait. Consider well what answer you make; for, if it be not agreeable, I am ordered to commence the attack.’ They answered; ‘ My lord, only allow us time to collect all the inhabitants together, that we may know their determinations.’ ‘ I consent to it,’ said he.

They entered the town once more, and, by found of trumpet in every street, the inhabitants were summoned to the market-place, where, when assembled, the chief citizens told them all that had passed between them and the marshal. Having agreed to surrender the town, for the release of their hostages from prison, whom they were unwilling to lose, they returned to the marshal and said,—‘ Marshal, your demands are reasonable, and we are ready to receive, as sovereigns, the duke and dukes of Lancaster in our town, of which here are the keys. We will accompany you to the duke’s quarters, if you will have the goodness to escort us.’ ‘ I will willingly do that,’ said the marshal. There came out of Entença upwards of sixty persons, carrying with them the keys of the gates: the marshal conducted them to the duke, and obtained  
for

for them an audience, where they were well received, and had their hostages given up. The duke entered Entença the same day, where he was lodged, and as many of his people as could be accommodated.

Four days after the surrender of Entença, the six deputies returned from Validolid. They were asked why they had staid so long: which they answered, by saying they could not help it. They had indeed seen and spoken to the king, who replied that he had heard them, and would advise on what answer to give; 'but, though we waited eight days for it, we are come back without any, for no further notice was taken of us.' They had heard in Validolid, that the king was expecting great succours from France; that numbers of men at arms were already arrived, and quartered up and down the country; but that their commanders, sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, were still behind; that the main body of the army, with the knights and squires, were on their march for Castille, but that those who had been retained to serve under the duke of Bourbon were still at their homes.

## CHAP. XXX.

THE COUNT DE FOIX PERMITS THE FRENCH CAPTAINS TO PASS THROUGH HIS TERRITORIES, ON CONDITION THEY PAY FOR WHATEVER THEY TAKE.—THEY ARRIVE AT ST. JEAN PIED DE PORT, AT THE ENTRANCE OF NAVARRE.

**S**IR William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac passing through France, assembled their men in the Touloufain, Narbonnois and Carcassone, where, as they arrived, they quartered themselves in the richest parts, and many never paid any thing for what they took. News was brought to the count de Foix at Orthès, where he resided, that the French men at arms were advancing near his country, with the intent of marching through it in their way to Castille. Those who told him this added,—‘But, my lord, the mischief is, that they pay for nothing they take, and the people fly before them as if they were English. The captains are still at Carcassone, and their men overrun from thence all the adjacent countries. They cross the Garonne at Toulouse, and enter Bigorre, from whence they will soon be in your territories; and, if they do there, what they have done on their march, they will greatly injure your domains of Bearn. Consider, therefore, how you will act.’

The

The count de Foix, who had instantly formed this resolution, replied,—‘ I will, that all my castles, as well in Foix as in Béarn, be well garrisoned with men at arms, and that all the country be put on its guard, as if an immediate battle were to take place; for I will not suffer from the wars in Castille. My lands are free; and, if the French want to pass through them, they shall truly pay for whatever they may want, or they shall be shut against them. This I order you, sir William and sir Peter de Béarn, to see obeyed.’ These two knights were bastard-brothers, valiant in arms, and able to support the count’s orders. They replied, they would undertake the charge willingly.

Proclamation was made, throughout the territories of the count, for every one to provide himself with proper arms, and to be prepared to march on instant notice, wherever sent for. Numbers came to Foix, Béarn, and the stewartry of Toulouse, prepared for battle; one hundred of whom, good lances and well appointed, were sent to the city of Palmes\*, under the command of sir Espaing du Lyon; sir Cicart de St. Legier to Mozerest†; sir Peter de Béarn posted himself at Belle-put‡, on the entrance into Foix, with another hundred spears; sir Peter de Cabestan, at St. Thibaut, on the Garonne; sir Peter Menaut de Noailles with fifty lances at Po-

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\* Palmes. Q. la Palme, a village in lower Languedoc, diocese of Narbonne.

† Mozeres. Q. Mazeres, on the Gave.

‡ Belle-put. Q. Belpuech.

laminick; fir Peter de la Toce at the caſtle of Lameſun; the baſtard d'Eſpaign at Morlas; fir Arnold William with, at the utmoſt, one hundred ſpears at Pau\*; fir Guy de la Motte at Montmarſen; fir Raymond de Châtelneuf at Sauvetter†; fir Evan de Foix, baſtard-ſon to the count, at Montesquieu‡; fir Verdol de Nenofan, and fir John de Sainte Marcel, at Oron§; fir Hector de la Garde at Mont-gerbiel; fir John de Châtelneuf at Erciel; fir John l'Aiſne, who had the command of the caſtle of Beauvoſin, was ordered to be very attentive to the whole of that frontier, and ſent his couſin, fir Arnaulton d'Eſpaign, to St. Gaudens||. In ſhort, there was not a town or caſtle in Foix and Béarn unprovided with men at arms, which the count ſaid were ſufficient to oppoſe double their numbers; for they amounted, in the whole, to twenty thouſand picked men at arms.

It was told to fir William de Lignac, who reſided at Toulouſe, and fir Walter de Paſſac, at Carcaſſone, how the count de Foix had ſummoned his men at arms and reinforced all his gariſons; and that it was reported he would not ſuffer their army to paſs through his country. The two knights, on hearing this, though captains of the others, were

\* Pau, a city in Béarn.

† Sauveterre, ſeven leagues from Pau.

‡ Montesquieu. Q. Montesquieu de Volvetre.

§ Oron. Q. Ornolac, a town in Foix, diocèſe of Pamiers.

|| St. Gaudens, a town in Gaſcony, capital of the Nebouzan, ſituated on the Garonne.

much astonished, and appointed a day to meet and confer on the subject. They met at the castle of Aury, half way between Toulouse and Carcassone, when the following conversation passed on the means of gaining permission from the count de Foix to march through his territories:

‘I wonder,’ said sir William, ‘very much, that neither the king of France nor his council have written to him, to obtain liberty for us to march quietly through Foix and Béarn. You must go to him, sir Walter, and amicably explain how we are sent by the king of France to continue our march peaceably, and to pay for whatever we may want; for you must know, that the count de Foix is so powerful, that he can, if he please, shut up the passage, and force us to go round by Arragon, which would be too long, and much against us. In truth, I know not of whom he is suspicious, nor why he has thus strengthened his towns and castles, nor if he have formed any connection with the duke of Lancaster; but I beg of you to go thither, and learn the truth of what we have heard.’ ‘I will willingly do so,’ replied sir Walter; and the two knights, having dined together, took leave of each other, and departed different ways: sir William de Lignac returned to Toulouse, and sir Walter de Passac, attended by only forty horse, crossed the Garonne at St. Thibaut, where he met sir Menaut de Noailles, who entertained him handsomely. Sir Walter asked, where he could find the count de Foix. He replied, ‘At Orthès.’

The two knights having passed some little time together, conversing on different matters, separated, and sir Walter went to St. Gaudens, where he made good cheer. On the morrow he came to St. John de Riviere, and, riding through Lane-bourg, skirted Malvoisin, and lay at Tournay, an inclosed town of France. The next day he dined at Tarbes, and staid the whole day: having met the lord d'Anchin, and sir Menaut de Barbasan, two great barons of Béarn, they had much conversation together; but, as the lord de Barbasan was an Armagnac, he would not say any thing favourable of the count de Foix. Sir Walter, on the morrow, left Tarbes, and dined at Morlas in Béarn, where he found sir Reginald William, bastard-brother to the count, who received him kindly, and said, — 'Sir Walter, you will meet my lord of Foix at Orthès, who, you may be assured, will be glad to see you.' 'God grant it may be so,' answered sir Walter; 'for I am come purposely to wait on him.'

They dined together, and sir Walter went afterwards to Mont-gabriel, where he lay. On the ensuing day he arrived at Orthès, about eight o'clock in the morning, but could not see the count until the afternoon, when he usually left his chamber. The count de Foix, hearing of the arrival of sir Walter de Passac, hastened to leave his apartment sooner than common; and sir Walter, seeing him come out of his chamber, advanced to meet him, and saluted him very respectfully. The count, who was  
perfectly

perfectly polite, returned the salute, and, taking him by the hand, said,—‘Sir Walter, you are welcome: what business has brought you to Béarn?’ ‘My lord,’ replied the knight, ‘sir William de Lignac and myself, whom the king of France has appointed commanders of the force which, you must have heard, he is sending to assist the king of Castille, have been given to understand that you intend to prevent us, by shutting your country of Béarn against us and our men.’ The count replied,—‘Sir Walter, under favour, I never mean to close my country against you, nor any person who may travel peaceably through it, and pay honestly and fairly for whatever they may want, to the satisfaction of my people; for I have sworn to defend and protect them in their rights, as good landholders ought to do, for upon these terms do they possess them. But I have heard that you have a set of Bretons, Barrois, Lorrainers and Burgundians, who never think of paying. It is against such I shall close my country; for I will not have my people harassed nor oppressed.’

‘It is the intention of my brother-commander and myself,’ replied sir Walter, ‘that no one pass through your lands without paying for all things peaceably and to the contentment of your people, otherwise let him be arrested and punished according to your laws, and make restitution for the damage he may have done, or we will make satisfaction for him, on having him given up to us; and, if no gentleman, we  
will

will inflict such exemplary justice on him, in the presence of your people, that all may take warning. Should the offender be a gentleman, we will make ample restitution for what he may have done, should he be unable so to do himself. This order shall be proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, in all our quarters, and we will have it repeated when on the point of entering your territories, so that no one may excuse himself, by pleading ignorance, and in consequence act otherwise than honestly. Tell me, if this be satisfactory to you.'

'Yes, sir Walter,' replied the count, 'I am contented with what you say: and you are welcome to this country, for I see you with pleasure: but come, let us go to dinner, it is now time, and we can have some further conversation. Accursed be this war of Portugal, sir Walter; for I never suffered so much as I did in one battle between the kings of Castille and Portugal, when I lost the flower of my men at arms from Béarn, who were there slain. When they took leave of me, I forewarned them to act with caution, for the Portuguese were a hardy race, who, whenever they had the upper hand, shewed mercy to none. I advise you, therefore, that when you and sir William de Lignac, who are the commanders of the men at arms that have passed, and of those that are to follow, are arrived in Castille, and the king asks counsel of you, you be not too hasty in recommending a battle with the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, without evi-

dent

dent advantage, nor with the English and Portuguese; for they are a hungry race, and the English are, for two reasons, eager to fight. They have not gained any thing for some time, but rather lost, consequently are poor: they therefore wish to hazard an engagement, in hopes of gain; and those who are bold, and anxious to obtain the property of others, fight valiantly, and are commonly fortunate. The other reason is, that the duke of Lancaster sees clearly he can never succeed in winning the crown of Castille, which he claims in right of his wife, but by a battle; and that, if the day should be his, and the king defeated, the whole of Castille would surrender, and tremble before him. For this has he landed in Galicia, and given one of his daughters in marriage to the king of Portugal, who is to assist him with all his might in his claim. I mention this, because should matters turn out unfortunate, you and sir William de Lignac would be more blamed than any others.'

'My lord,' answered sir Walter, 'I return you many thanks for the advice you give me. I ought to follow what you say; for you are, at this day, the wisest of Christian princes, and the most fortunate in your affairs. But my companion and myself are under the duke of Bourbon, who is our commander in chief; and, until he be arrived in Castille, we shall not hasten our march, and will not, for what any person may say, press the engaging with our enemies.'

Other

Other conversation now took place, until the count de Foix called for wine. When it was brought, sir Walter and all present drank of it, and took leave of the count, who re-entered his chamber. Sir Walter returned to his lodging, accompanied by the knights of the count's household; and, at the usual hour, he again went to the castle and supped with the count. On the morrow, after dinner, sir Walter took leave of the count, who, among other gifts, presented him on his departure with a handsome horse and mule. Sir Walter, having returned him his thanks, and his attendants being ready, mounted his horse and quitted Orthès for Erziel, where he lay that night. He arrived at Tarbes the following day, for he had ridden hard to finish this day's journey, where he halted, that he might write to sir William de Lignac respecting the success of his visit to the count de Foix. He told him he might order the army to advance, as they would find the country of Béarn and the towns open to them, by paying for whatever they might want, but not otherwise.

The messenger delivered this letter to sir William de Lignac at Toulouse, who, having read it, communicated the contents to the leaders of the men at arms, and gave them orders to begin the march, and to pay for whatever they might want in Béarn, or they would be called upon to make due restitution.

This order was proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, in all their quarters; and, shortly after, the men at arms began their march from Toulouse,

louse, Carcassone and other places, towards Bigorre. Sir William de Lignac left Toulouse, and, on his arrival at Tarbes, found his brother-commander, sir Walter de Passac. They mutually entertained each other with good cheer, as was natural, while their men at arms were continually passing towards Bigorre, where they were to assemble and traverse Foix and Béarn, in a body, to cross the Gave at Orthès.

The instant you leave Béarn you enter the country of the Basques\*, where the king of England has large possessions in the archbishoprick of Bordeaux and bishoprick of Bayonne. The inhabitants of fourscore villages, with churches, attached to England, on hearing of this march of the French, were greatly alarmed lest their country would be overrun and spoiled, for at that time there were not any men at arms to defend it. Those therefore counselled together who were of the most influence and of the largest properties, and determined to negotiate with the French for the ransom of their country. They, in consequence, sent four deputies to Orthès, empowered to treat for peace. They related to Ernauton du Pin, a squire of the count de Foix, an agreeable and discreet man, the cause of their coming, and entreated him, when, in two days time, sir William and sir Walter should come to Orthès, to assist them in their treaty. This Ernauton readily promised; and as they lodged with him, he aided them so

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\* Basques, a small country near the Pyrenées, bounded by Spain, the sea, the river Adour and Béarn.

much that they were well satisfied to pay two thousand francs to save their country from ruin. The count de Foix again entertained the commanders at dinner, and gave sir William de Lignac a beautiful horse. On the morrow, they marched to Sauveterre, and entered the country of the Basques; and though it had been ransomed, they seized provision wherever they found any, but continued their march, without doing further mischief, to St. Jean Pied de Port, at the entrance of Navarre.

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### CHAP. XXXI.

SIR JOHN HOLLAND AND SIR REGINALD DE ROYE  
PERFORM A TILT, IN THE TOWN OF ENTENÇA,  
BEFORE THE KING AND QUEEN OF PORTUGAL  
AND THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF LANCASTER.

**Y**OU have before heard how the town of Entença surrendered to the duke of Lancaster, for the king of Castille sent thither no assistance; and how the duchess of Lancaster and her daughter visited the king and queen of Portugal at Oporto, when the king and his court, as was right, received them most honourably. During the stay of the duke of Lancaster in Entença, a herald arrived from Validolid, who demanded where sir John Holland was lodged. On being shewn thither, he found sir John within, and, bending his knee, presented him a letter, saying; 'Sir, I am a herald at arms, whom sir Reginald de Roye sends hither: he salutes you by

by me; and you will be pleased to read this letter.' Sir John answered, he would willingly do so. Having opened it, he read that sir Reginald de Roye entreated him, for the love of his mistress, that he would deliver him from his vow, by tilting with him three courses with the lance, three attacks with the sword, three with the battle-axe, and three with the dagger; and that, if he chose to come to Validolid, he had provided him an escort of sixty spears; but, if it were more agreeable to him to remain in En-tença, he desired he would obtain from the duke of Lancaster a passport for himself and thirty companions.

When sir John Holland had perused the letter, he smiled, and, looking at the herald, said, — 'Friend, thou art welcome; for thou hast brought me what pleases me much, and I accept the challenge. Thou wilt remain in my lodging, with my people, and, in the course of to-morrow, thou shalt have my answer, whether the tilts are to be in Galicia or Castille.' The herald replied, 'God grant it.' He remained in sir John's lodgings, where he was made comfortable; and sir John went to the duke of Lancaster, whom he found in conversation with the marshal, and shewed the letter the herald had brought. 'Well,' said the duke, 'and have you accepted it?' 'Yes, by my faith have I; and why not? I love nothing better than fighting, and the knight entreats me to indulge him: consider, therefore, where you would choose it should take place.' The duke mused a while, and then said; 'It shall be performed in this town:

town: have a passport made out in what terms you please, and I will seal it.' 'It is well said,' replied sir John; 'and I will, in God's name, soon make out the passport.'

The passport was fairly written and sealed; for thirty knights and squires to come and return; and sir John Holland, when he delivered it to the herald, presented him with a handsome mantle lined with minever and twelve nobles. The herald took leave and returned to Validolid, where he related what had passed, and shewed his presents.

News of this tournament was carried to Oporto, where the king of Portugal kept his court. 'In the name of God,' said the king, 'I will be present at it, and so shall my queen and the ladies.' 'Many thanks,' replied the duchess; 'for I shall be accompanied by the king and queen when I return.' It was not long after this conversation, that the king of Portugal, the queen, the duchess, with her daughter and the ladies of the court, set out for Entença, in grand array. The duke of Lancaster, when they were near at hand, mounted his horse, and, attended by a numerous company, went to meet them. When the king and duke met, they embraced each other most kindly, and entered the town together, where their lodgings were as well prepared as they could be in such a place, though they were not so magnificent as if they had been at Paris.

Three days after the arrival of the king of Portugal, came sir Reginald de Roye, handsomely spanned by knights and squires, to the amount

amount of fix score horse. They were all properly lodged; for the duke had given his officers strict orders they should be well taken care of. On the morrow, sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye armed themselves, and rode into a spacious close in Entença, well fenced, where the tilts were to be performed. Scaffolds were erected for the ladies, the king, the duke, and the many English lords who had come to witness the combat; for none had staid at home.

The two knights, who were to perform this deed of arms, entered the lists so well armed and equipped that nothing was wanting. Their spears, battle-axes and swords, were brought them; and each, being mounted on the best of horses, placed himself about a bow-shot distant from the other, but, at times they all pranced about on their horses most gallantly, for they knew every eye to be upon them.

All being now arranged for their combat, which was to include every thing, except pushing it to extremity, though no one could foresee what mischief might happen, nor how it would end; for they were to tilt with pointed lances, then with swords, which were so sharp, that scarcely a helmet could resist their strokes; and these were to be succeeded by battle-axes and daggers, each so well tempered that nothing could withstand them. Now, consider the perils those run who engage in such combats to exalt their honour, for one unlucky stroke puts an end to the business.

Having braced their targets and examined  
each

each other through the visors of their helmets, they spurred on their horses, spear in hand. Though they allowed their horses to gallop as they pleased, they advanced on as straight a line as if it had been drawn with a cord, and hit each other on the visors, with such force that sir Reginald's lance was shivered into four pieces, which flew to a greater height than they could have been thrown. All present allowed this to be gallantly done. Sir John Holland struck sir Reginald likewise on the visor, but not with the same success, and I will tell you why. Sir Reginald had but flightly laced on his helmet, so that it was held by one thong only, which broke at the blow, and the helmet flew over his head; leaving sir Reginald bare-headed. Each passed the other, and sir John Holland bore his lance without halting. The spectators cried out that it was a handsome course. The knights returned to their stations, when sir Reginald's helmet was fitted on again, and another lance given to him: sir John grasped his own, which was not worsted. When ready, they set off full gallop, for they had excellent horses under them, which they well knew how to manage, and again struck each other on the helmets, so that sparks of fire came from them, but chiefly from sir John Holland's. He received a very severe blow, for this time the lance did not break; neither did sir John's, which hit the visor of his adversary without much effect, passing through and leaving it on the crupper of the horse, and sir Reginald was once more bare headed. 'Ha,' cried the  
English

English to the French, 'he does not fight fair: why is not his helmet as well buckled on as sir John Holland's? We say he is playing tricks: tell him to put himself on an equal footing with his adversary.' 'Hold your tongues,' said the duke, 'and let them alone: in arms, every one takes what advantage he can: if sir John think there is any advantage in thus fastening on the helmet, he may do the same. But for my part, were I in their situations, I would lace my helmet at tight as possible; and, if one hundred were asked their opinions, there would be four-score of my way of thinking.' The English, on this, were silent, and never again interfered. The ladies declared, they had nobly justed; and they were much praised by the king of Portugal, who said to sir John Fernando, 'In our country they do not tilt so well, nor so gallantly: what say you sir John?' 'By my faith, sir,' replied he, 'they do tilt well; and formerly I saw as good justs before your brother, when we were at Elvas to oppose the king of Castille, between this Frenchman and sir William Windsor; but I never heard that his helmet was tighter laced then than it is now.'

The king on this turned from sir John to observe the knights, who were about to begin their third course. Sir John and sir Reginald eyed each other, to see if any advantage were to be gained, for their horses were so excellent that they could manage them as they pleased, and, sticking spurs into them, hit their helmets so sharply that their eyes struck fire, and the shafts of their lances

lances were broken. Sir Reginald was again unhelmed, for he could never avoid this happening, and they passed each other without falling. All now declared, they had well jsted; though the English, excepting the duke of Lancaster, blamed greatly sir Reginald: but he said, 'he considered that man as wise who in combat knows how to feize his vantage. Know,' added he, addressing himself to sir Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Moreaux, 'that sir Reginald de Roye is not now to be taught how to tilt: he is better skilled than sir John Holland, though he has borne himself well.'

After the courses of the lance, they fought three rounds with swords, battle-axes and daggers, without either of them being wounded. The French carried off sir Reginald to his lodgings, and the English did the same to sir John Holland.

The duke of Lancaster entertained this day at dinner all the French knights and squires: the duchess was seated beside him, and sir Reginald de Roye next to her. After dinner, they entered the presence-chamber; and the duchess, taking sir Reginald by the hand, led him thither: they were followed by the other knights, who conversed on arms and on other subjects a long time, almost until wine was brought. The duchess then drew nearer to the French knights, and thus spoke: 'I wonder greatly how you knights of France can think of supporting the claims of a bastard; for it is well known to the whole world, that Henry, who

who call'd himself king of Castille, was a bastard, and how you can thus, with your arms and counsel, disinherit the right heir of Castille and deprive him of the crown: for this I know, that myself and sister are the legal daughters of the late king, don Pedro; and God, who is Truth itself, knows that our claim on Castille is just.' The lady, when speaking of her father don Pedro, could not refrain from tears, as she doated on him. Sir Reginald de Roye bowed to her, and thus replied: 'Madam, we know that what you have said is true; but our lord, the king of France, holds a different opinion from yours, and, as we are his subjects, we must make war for him, and go whithersoever he may send us, for we cannot disobey him.' At these words, sir John Holland and sir Thomas Percy handed the lady to her chamber, and the wine and spices were brought. The duke and his company drank of them, and the French knights took their leave: the horses being ready at their lodgings, they mounted and left Entença. They rode that day to Noya, which was attached to the king of Castille, where they reposed themselves, and then continued their journey to Validolid.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL PROMISES TO ENTER CASTILLE WHILE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FINISHES THE CONQUEST OF GALICIA, AND THEN TO UNITE THEIR FORCES.

THE king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster had a long conference together the day after this tournament, when, I believe, their plans of operation were settled. The king of Portugal having assembled his army ready to take the field, it was determined that he should enter Castille, while the duke remained in Galicia to conquer such towns and castles as had not acknowledged him for king; and it was likewise resolved that if king John of Castille made any movements which shewed an inclination for battle, they were to join their forces. It was judged, that if the two armies were always united, there would be difficulty in procuring forage for such numbers. Other evils might arise also respecting forage and quarters; for the English are hasty and proud, and the Portuguese hot and impetuous, easily angered, and not soon pacified. But, in the expectation of a battle, they would agree as well together as Gascons.

Having determined as above, the king of Portugal addressed the duke of Lancaster,—‘ Sir, when I shall learn that you have taken the field, I will do  
the

the like; for my men are ready and eager for battle.' The duke replied; 'I will not long continue idle; but as I have heard there are some towns in Galicia still in rebellion, and that the people will not acknowledge me, I must first conquer them, and will then march where I may the soonest meet my enemies.'

Upon this, the king and queen of Portugal took leave of the duke and duchess, as did the lady Catherine their daughter; for it had been settled, that during the war she should live with her sister in Portugal, as the place of greatest security for her, and the duchess was to return to Sant Jago. Thus were these matters arranged, and the king of Portugal and his court set out for Oporto, and the duchess for Sant Jago, each party well escorted by knights and squires; but the duke remained with his army at Entença, or in the neighbourhood. They were very eager to commence the campaign, for it was now the pleasant month of April, when the grass was ripe in the meads, the corn in ear, and the flowers in seed; for it is so hot in that country, that the harvest is over in June: they therefore wished to perform some exploits in arms while the weather was so fine, for it was a pleasure at such a season to be out in the fields.

We must now speak of the arrangements of the French, and of the king of Castille, as fully as we have done of the English.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC AND SIR WALTER DE  
PASSAC TRAVERSE THE KINGDOM OF NAVARRE  
WITH THEIR ARMY, AND ARRIVE AT BURGOS,  
WHERE THEY MEET THE KING OF CASTILLE.

**Y**OU have heard how sir Walter de Passac obtained permission from the count de Foix for the French army, intended for Castille, to pass through Béarn. The count likewise gave, of his own free will, (for he was no way bounden to do so) very rich presents to such knights and squires as waited on him at the castle of Orthès, to pay their respects, and tell him what was passing in the way of news. To some he gave two hundred, to others one hundred, fifty or forty florins, according to their ranks; and, as the treasurer assured me, the passage of this first division cost the count de Foix one thousand francs, without including the presents he made of courfers and hackneys. Now shew me the prince who does such things, or who has the inclination to do them. In good truth, so desirous am I of speaking to his advantage, it is a pity that such a one should ever grow old and die; for he is not surrounded by base minions, who tell him, 'Take this, give that; take on all sides.' No, he never had, nor will have any such about his person: he does all himself; for he has, by nature, abilities to know to whom

whom he should give, and from whom he should take, when required. True it is, that the large presents he makes oppress his people; for his revenue is not equal to giving every year at least sixty thousand francs, and keeping up his establishments, which are unequalled by any one, and to the amassing a treasure to serve him in case of accidents. He has been for these last thirty years, laying by large sums; and they say there is in the tower of Orthès one hundred thousand francs, thirty times told. His subjects only pray to God that he may have long life, and never complain of any thing he does; and I have heard them say, that on the day he shall die, there will be ten thousand persons in Orthès who would wish to die also. Consider that this must be the effect of their affection; and, if they have such great love for him, they have reason for it, as he maintains strict justice, and his subjects enjoy their lands free and in peace, like to a terrestrial paradise. Let it not be thought that I thus speak through flattery, or my love to him, or for the presents he has made me; for I can readily prove all I have said of the gallant count de Foix, and still more, by a thousand knights and squires, if called upon. Let us return to sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, the commanders of the men at arms destined for Castille.

Having crossed Basques, and the pass of Roncesvalles, which took them three days, (for, though

though it was in the month of April, the snows and cold were so deep and severe, that they had much difficulty in the passage with their men and horses,) they arrived at Pampeluna, the kingdom of Navarre being open to them. The king of Navarre was unwilling to displease the king of Castille, as his son Charles de Navarre had married his sister; and when the last treaties were concluded, during the reign of the late don Henry, they were so strong as bound the king of Navarre to peace. Indeed, he can never withstand the king of Castille, unless he have the kings of Arragon and England for his allies.

The king of Navarre very amicably received, at Pampeluna, the leaders of this force, and had them, with some other knights that accompanied them, to dine with him in his palace. After dinner, he led them into his council chamber, and began conversations on different subjects (for he was a wondrous subtle and eloquent man), and at last turned the discourse on France, and harangued on the wrongs the king of France and his council had unjustly done him, by depriving him of his lands in Normandy, which had descended to him from his predecessors the kings of France and Navarre. This injury he should never forget, for he had lost, by the seizure of lands in Normandy, Languedoc, and in the barony of Montpensier about sixty thousand francs of yearly rent, and in respect of this grievance he knew not to whom, except to God,

to

to apply for redrefs. 'I do not say this, my lords,' added he, 'that you should any way interfere in the business; for I know you have not the power, nor would any thing you could say be listened to. You are not of the king's council, but knights-errant and foldiers, who are obliged to march wheresoever the king or his council may order you. This is fact; but I say it to you, because I know not to whom I can complain, except to all who shall come from France through this country.'

Sir Walter de Passac replied,—'Sir, what you say is true: nothing will be done by any recommendation of ours; for, in truth, we are not of the king's council. We go whither we are sent; and my lord of Bourbon, uncle to the king, is our commander, and, as you know, is to follow us this road: you may lay your complaints before him, either when coming or on his return, for he has much influence, and your wrongs may be redressed. May God assist you, for the honour you have done us! When returned to France, we shall praise your attentions, to the king, as well as to the duke of Bourbon, our commander, whom we shall see first.'

Wine was now brought, of which they partook, and then left the king, who parted from them kindly, and sent to each, at their lodgings, a handsome war-horse, to their great joy. The men at arms thus passed Navarre, and arrived at Logroño, where they inquired after the king  
of

of Castille. They were told he had resided for some time at Validolid, but that he was then at Burgos, making great preparations of stores and provision.

They then followed the road towards Burgos, leaving that into Galicia, which country was not secure, for the English had marched far into it. News was brought to the king of Castille that great succours were on their march, to the amount of two thousand lances from France. This delighted him greatly, and he set out from Validolid, accompanied by ten thousand horse, for Burgos, where the French, on their coming, were quartered over the country. They were daily joined by others from France.

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#### CHAP. XXXIV.

MANY PLANS ARE OFFERED TO THE KING OF CASTILLE FOR CARRYING ON THE WAR: HE IS DETERMINED BY THE COMMANDERS OF THE FRENCH FORCE TO DELAY AN ENGAGEMENT UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AND TO MAKE EXCURSIONS FROM THE DIFFERENT GARRISONS.

SIR William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, on their arrival at Burgos, waited on the king, at his palace, who received them kindly, and thanked them for the trouble and pains they had taken, out of affection to him, and for coming to assist him. The knights bowed

ed, and said, 'that if they could do any thing essential for his service, their pains and trouble would soon be forgotten.' Many councils were holden, to consider whether to march against the enemy, or carry on the war by excursions from the garrisons, until the duke of Bourbon arrived. The two knights said; 'Send for sir Oliver du Guesclin, sir Peter de Villaines, sir Barrois des Barres, Châtelmorant, and the other companions, who are better acquainted with this country than ourselves, for they have come hither before us, and we will then confer together; and if it please God, your kingdom shall, from our counsels, acquire both profit and renown.'

The king said, they had spoken openly and loyally, and he was willing their advice should be followed. Secretaries were instantly employed in writing pressing letters to the different knights and others, whom they wished to see, which were sent off by messengers to the different parts where they resided. When it was known to them that sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were come, and had sent for them, they were much pleased. They left the towns and castles in which they were garrisoned, under the command of such as they could depend on, and hastened to Burgos, where, in a short time, good part of the chivalry of France were collected.

The king of Castille held a grand council with the barons and knights of France, on the manner of commencing the campaign, for they  
knew

knew the enemy had taken the field. He was desirous of acting in a manner becoming the honour of a king, and for the benefit of his country. Many were the debates, and the amount of the force in Castille was estimated. It was said that the king could summon into the field thirty thousand horse, with their riders armed according to the custom of the country, with darts and javelins, and thirty thousand infantry, if not more, with slings. The French knights considered all this, and said it was certainly a great number of people, but it was useless as an army; for they had formerly acted in so cowardly a manner that no confidence could be placed in them. Through their cowardice, the prince of Wales had won the battle of Najara; and the Castillians had been completely defeated by the Portuguese at Aljubarota.

The count de Lerma took up this speech, and supported the Castillians. By way of excuse, he said,—‘ With regard to the battle of Najara, I must beg leave to speak to that. It is true that many noble knights from France were present with sir Bertrand de Guesclin, who fought valiantly, for they were all slain or captured; but you must also know, that the flower of knighthood, of the whole world, was under the command of the prince of Wales, whose good sense, courage and prudence, were unrivalled. Such is not now the case with the duke of Lancaster. The prince had, at the battle of Najara, full ten thousand spears, and six thousand archers; and among the chivalry were three thousand

and equal to the Rolands and Olivers; such as sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, sir Oliver de Clifton, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Garfis du Châtel, the lord de Raix, the Lord de Rieux, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, and hundreds more whom I could name, who were then present, but who are either dead or have turned to our side. These are not now opposed to us, nor is the event so doubtful as it was in former times, so that whoever has confidence in me, will join my opinion for an instant combat; and that we march to cross the river Duero, which will rebound to our honour.'

This speech of the count de Lerma was attentively listened to by the council, and many were of his mind. Sir Oliver de Guesclin next spoke: 'Count de Lerma, we know that what you have uttered proceeds from the good sense and courage you possess; and, suppose we were to march and offer combat to the duke of Lancaster, had we no other enemy, we should do well; but you have forgotten the king of Portugal, whom we shall have on our rear, and whose forces consist, as we have been informed, of twenty-five hundred lances and thirty thousand other men. It was the dependance on the king of Portugal that made the duke land in Galicia; and we know that their alliance is very much strengthened by the marriage of the king with the duke's daughter. Now, let us hear what you can say to this.'

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‘In God’s name,’ replied the count de Lerma, ‘the French being four thousand lances, are more than a match to combat the duke of Lancaster; and the king, with his Castillians, to the amount of twenty thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, as they say, may surely withstand the king of Portugal: it appears to me so clear, that I will risk the event with them.’

The knights from France, seeing themselves thus rebuffed by the count de Lerma, said,— ‘By God, you are in the right, and we in the wrong, for we ought first to have weighed what you have said: it shall be so, since you will it, and no one seems to oppose it.’ ‘My lords,’ said the king, ‘I beg of you to consider well the advice you give me, not through haste or pride, but with all attention, that the best plan may be adopted. I do not look on what has been said as decisive, nor approve of it: I will that we meet again in this same apartment to-morrow, and particularly that you sir William de Lignac, and you sir Walter de Passac, who have been sent hither by the king of France and duke of Bourbon, as the commanders in chief, do confer together, and examine carefully what will be the most honourable and profitable for my kingdom; for you shall determine whether we march to offer combat to our enemies or not.’

They bowed to the king, and said they would cheerfully attend to his orders. The conference then broke up, and each retired to his lodging. The French knights had this day after dinner,  
and

and in the evening, much conversation on the subject. Some said,—‘ We cannot in honour offer battle until the arrival of the duke of Bourbon ; for how do we know what will be his intentions, to fight or not? Should we engage and be victorious, the duke will be highly indignant against the captains from France : should we be defeated, we not only ruin ourselves, but Castille also ; for if we be slain, there can be no hopes of recovery to the Castillians, and the king will lose his crown. We shall be blamed, should this happen, more than any others ; for it will be said, that we proposed the battle, and were ignorant advisers. Besides, we know not if the country be unanimous in their affection to the king, or whether they may not have sent, underhand, for the duke of Lancaster and his lady, as the legal heirs of Castille, for she is the daughter of don Pedro, as is well known to all. Now should the Castillians say, on seeing the duke and the English in the field, that his is the justest cause, for that king John is a bastard, they may turn about towards the latter end of the day, as they did at Najara, and leave us to be slain on the spot. Thus there is a double danger, for the king and for us. They must be mad or foolish who advise a battle ; and why have not those who ought to have spoken, such as sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Pasfac, delivered their sentiments?’ ‘ Because,’ replied others, ‘ they wished to know our opinions first ; for it is not possible but that, when they left the council of France and the duke of Bourbon,

Jourbon, they were well instructed how to act. We shall all know to-morrow.'

There was much disputing this evening between the knights from France, as well as among those of Castille. The wellwishers to the king would not advise him to offer battle, for the reason that if they should be defeated, the kingdom was infallibly lost. The king himself was of this opinion: he dreaded the chances of war, for he was ignorant of the support he should have, and whether he was beloved by all his subjects or not.

The matter thus remained until the morrow, when they were again assembled in the presence of the king.

In this conference there were many speakers, for all were desirous to offer the king advice to the best of their abilities: it was visible the king was against the plan of the preceding day, for he had not forgotten the unfortunate event of the battle of Aljubarota, where he was defeated by the king of Portugal with such loss, that another similar to it would lose him his realm. When all had delivered their opinions, sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were asked theirs; for, as they were the commanders in chief, every thing should be ordered and executed by them.

The two knights looking at each other, sir William said, 'Do you speak, sir Walter.' 'Not I,' replied sir Walter: 'do you, for you have been longer used to arms than myself.' Sir William, having paused a while, thus spoke 'Sir king, you ought, methinks, to return man  
than!

thanks to this noble chivalry of France, who have come so far to serve you in your distress, and who have shewn you such affection as to decline shutting themselves up in any of your castles or towns, but are eager to take the field and combat your enemies wherever they may find them: which, however, saving your grace and the good will you shew, cannot be done at present for many reasons; the principal of which is, the absence of my lord the duke of Bourbon, who will soon arrive with a considerable reinforcement of men at arms. There are also many of our knights and squires who have never before been in this country, and are ignorant of the roads, to which they must attend; and things which are hastily concluded never end well. Instead, therefore, of attempting a general engagement, we shall carry on the war for two or three months, or as long as may be necessary, from different garrisons, and let the English, and Portuguese overrun Galicia, or other parts, if they can. If they conquer a few towns, it will be no great loss: we will regain them before we quit the country, for they shall only borrow them for a time. To conclude: in warfare there are many unforeseen events, and the English during the hot season, may, in their various excursions through Galicia, meet with such difficulties, and suffer such disorders, as may make them repent ever having undertaken the business; for they will not find the climate like that of France, nor the wines so good, nor the water so pure, as in our country; but the rivers muddy and cold

cold from the melting of the snows on the mountains, which will chill them and their horses after the burning heat of the sun in the day-time, and be the destruction of both. They are not of iron or steel, and must in the end suffer from the heats of Castille, but like to ourselves; and we cannot any way more easily defeat them than by avoiding a combat, and allowing them to go whithersoever they please. They will find nothing to pillage in the low countries, nor any thing to comfort themselves; for, I am informed that has been all destroyed by our people, for which I praise them greatly, and, were it now undone, I would have given them such orders. Now, if any person can give better advice, let him do so, for sir Walter and myself will cheerfully listen to him.'

The council unanimously replied; 'We approve of what sir William has offered, and cannot but think it the best advice for the king and kingdom of Castille.' It was then determined to wait for the duke of Bourbon and the stores before they made preparations for taking the field, but to garrison strongly the frontier, and suffer the English and Portuguese to overrun Castille at their pleasure; for, when they returned from their excursions, they could not carry away the land with them. The conference ended, all left the chamber; and this day the king entertained at dinner, in his palace at Burgos, the barons and knights of France: it was magnificently grand, according to the custom in Spain. On the morrow, before noon, all the men *at arms* were sent off to their different garrisons,

fons, with instructions from their leaders how to act. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, count de Longueville, was ordered, with a thousand spears, to a tolerably strong town on the borders of Galicia, called Ville-saincte;\* fir Reginald and fir Tristan de Roye to another town, ten leagues further, but on the frontier of Galicia, called Ville-d'Agillare-de-Champ,† with three hundred lances, fir Peter de Belesme, with two hundred lances to Beneventé; the count de Lerma to the town of Zamora; fir John des Barres, with three hundred, to the castle of Noya; fir John de Châtelmorant and fir Tristan de la Jaille, with others, to the city of Valencia; the viscount de Besliere to the town of Ribesda, with fir John and fir Robert de Braquemont. In such manner were the men at arms divided: fir Oliver du Guesclin was nominated constable, having the largest body under his command; and fir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac remained near the king at Burgos, and attended him wherever he went.

Thus were affairs managed in Castille, waiting for the duke of Bourbon, who was still in France making his preparations. But we will leave the armies of Castille and of the duke of Lancaster, for a short time, and return to them again when necessary, to speak of such events as happened in France and England; many of which were strange enough, and dangerous to both kingdoms, but particularly displeasing to the king of England and his council.

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\* Ville-saincte. Q. Vilalpando.

† Ville-d'Agillare-de-Champ. Q. Avila.

## CHAP. XXXV.

THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON MAKES GREAT PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND.—MUCH MURMURING AND DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND AGAINST KING RICHARD AND HIS COUNCIL.

**I** HAVE before related at length, how the grand expedition, which was preparing at Sluys to invade England, was broken up; but to shew how much the French were in earnest, and that it might not be said they had given it over through cowardice, but were still eager to land in England, it was ordered that the constable should sail thither in the month of May, when the weather was fine, and the sea calm. His force was to consist of four thousand men at arms and two thousand cross-bows, who were to assemble in a town of Brittany called Tréguier,\* situated on the sea-coast, and opposite to Cornwall. His preparations, which were very considerable, were all made there, and the horses were to embark at that port, the more easily to overrun England; for without horses, no war on land can be carried on with effect. In this harbour were numbers of vessels of all descriptions, which were

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\* Tréguier,—ten leagues north-west of St. Brieux, and twenty-three north-east of Brest.

laden with wines, salted meats, biscuit, and other things in such quantities, as might serve them four or five months, without requiring any thing from the country; for the constable knew, that when the English should hear of his landing, they would destroy all the lowlands, to prevent him from having any support; and it was for this reason he had provided such immense stores.

Another large fleet, to invade England, was likewise prepared at Harfleur, by the lord de Coucy, the lord de St. Pol and the admiral of France, who were to embark on board of it with two thousand spears; but it was said that this was solely intended to force the duke of Lancaster to withdraw himself and his army from Castille.

The duke of Bourbon was still at Paris; for he knew the duke of Lancaster must return to England, and it would be unnecessary for him to take so long a journey to Castille. The army of the constable consisted of Bretons, Angevins, Manceaux, Saintongers, and knights and squires from the adjoining countries. That of the count de St. Pol and the lord de Coucy was composed from the isle of France, Normandy and Picardy. The duke of Bourbon had two thousand spears from Berry, Auvergne, Limousin and lower Burgundy. Such was the distribution of the forces in France; and every man knew how he was to be employed, whether in England or Castille.

England was, at this period in greater danger than when the peasants, under Jack Straw, rose in rebellion, and marched to London; and I will

tell you the cause. The nobles and gentlemen were unanimous, at that time, in their support of the king, but now there were many serious differences between them. The king quarrelled with his uncles of York and Gloucester, and they were equally displeased with him, caused, as it was said, by the intrigues of the duke of Ireland, the sole confidant of the king. The commonalty, in many towns and cities, had noticed these quarrels, and the wisest dreaded the consequences that might ensue; but the giddy laughed at them, and said, they were owing to the jealousy of the king's uncles, and because the crown was not on their heads. But others said,—‘The king is young, and puts his confidence in youngsters: it would be to his advantage if he consulted his uncles more, who can only wish the prosperity of the country, than that puppy, the duke of Ireland, who is ignorant of all things, and who never saw a battle.’ Thus were the English divided; and great disasters seemed to be at hand, which was perfectly known all over France, and caused them to hasten their preparations for invading the country, and adding to its miseries.

The prelates of England were also quarrelling: the archbishop of Canterbury with that of York, who was of the house of Neville. They hated each other mortally, because the lord Neville had been appointed lieutenant of Northumberland, in preference to the sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, which the archbishop, who was one of the king's council,

cil, had obtained for his brother, through the duke of Ireland.

As soon as the English learnt that the camps near Sluys were broken up, and the invasion given over, great murmurings were general throughout England. Those who wished mischief said,— ‘What is now become of our grand enterprizes and our valiant captains? Would that our gallant king Edward and his son, the prince of Wales, were now alive! We used to invade France and rebuff our enemies, so that they were afraid to shew themselves, or venture to engage us, and, when they did so, they were defeated. What a glorious expedition did our king Edward, of happy memory, make, when he landed in Normandy, and marched through France. After many battles and other fine exploits, he defeated king Philip and the whole power of the French at Crecy, and took Calais before he returned home. Where are the knights and princes of England who can now do such things? Did not likewise the prince of Wales, son of this gallant king, make prisoner the king of France, and defeat his army at Poitiers, with the small force he had, compared with that of king John? In those days we were feared, and our renown was spread abroad, wherever chivalry was esteemed; but at this moment we must be silent, for they know not how to make war, except on our pockets: for this they are ready enough. Only a child reigns now in France, and yet he has given us more alarms than any of

his predecessors, and shews good courage and inclination to invade us. It was not his fault; but that of his advisers, that he did not attempt it. We have seen the time when, if such a fleet had been known to have been collected at Sluys, the good king and his sons would have hastened to attack it; but now-a-days the nobles are delighted to have nothing to do, and remain in peace; but they will not suffer us to live in quiet, as long as we have any thing in our purses. We have seen the time when conquests were made by us in France, and no taxes demanded; but every one was made rich from the great wealth which abounded in France. What is become of the immense sums which have been raised, as well by taxes as by the current revenue? They must have been wasted or purloined. We must know how the country is governed, and who are the advisers of the king: it is not right that such things be longer unattended to; for this country is not so rich, nor able to bear the burdens France does, which abounds in all things. It seems, also, that we are weakened in understanding and activity as well as in courage; for we used to know what was intended by France, and what were its plans, some months before they could execute them, by which we were prepared to resist them. Now, we are not only ignorant of what is going forward in France, but they are well-informed of all that passes, though under the seal of secrecy, in our councils, and we know not whom to blame. But a day must come when all this will be public;

lic; for there are secret traitors in the council, and the sooner this is inquired into the better: we may delay it so long that it will be too late to provide a remedy.' Such conversations were very common, not only with knights and squires, but among the inhabitants of many of the towns, which placed the realm in much danger.

The knights and squires who had been summoned to the defence of the kingdom, now demanded their pay; and other large sums were called for, to defray the great expenses the king and his council had been at in guarding the country against the invasion from France. A parliament was therefore assembled in London, of the nobles, prelates and commonalty, to consider of laying a general tax throughout the country to answer all these demands. The parliament adjourned from London to Westminster, when those summoned attended, and indeed many others, who came to hear news. The king and his two uncles of York and Gloucester were present; and the parliament was harangued on the subject of the finances, and assured that there was not in the royal treasury more than sufficient to support, even with economy, the usual expenses of the king. The council said, there was no other means than laying a general tax on all the country, if they were desirous of paying the great sums the defence of the kingdom had cost.

Those from the archbishoprick of Canterbury, the bishopricks of Norwich and Warwick, the counties of Devonshire, Hampshire and Wiltshire readily

readily assented, because they knew better what had been done, and were more alarmed than those at a greater distance, in Wales, Bristol and Cornwall, who were rebellious, and said,—‘ We have never seen any enemies come into this country: why therefore should we be thus heavily taxed, and nothing done?’ ‘ Yes, yes,’ replied others: ‘ let them call on the king’s council, the archbishop of York and the duke of Ireland, who received sixty thousand francs, for the ransom of John of Brittany, from the constable of France, which ought to have gone to the general profit of the kingdom. Let them call on sir Simon Burley, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Brand, sir Robert Tresilian and sir John Beauchamp, who have governed the king. If they gave a true account of the sums raised in England, or were forced so to do, there would be more than money enough to pay all expenses, and poor people might remain in quiet.’

The king’s uncles were much pleased when these speeches were told them; for those they had named were unfriendly to their interests, and opposed their obtaining any favours from the court. They encouraged such discourses, and, to gain popularity, said; ‘ The good people who hold such language are well advised in wishing to have an account of the management of the finances, and in refusing to pay their taxes; for, in good truth, there is cash enough either in the purses of the king or of those who go-

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By degrees, this discontent was much increased among the people, who declared against any tax being laid on, and who grew bolder in their language when they saw that the king's uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, with many other great barons, supported them. The ministers, therefore, withdrew the tax, and said that nothing should be done in the matter until Michaelmas, when the parliament would again meet.

Those knights and squires who were expecting their pay were much angered against the king and his council for their disappointment, and the ministers appeased them in the best manner they could. When the parliament broke up, and the members went different ways, the king did not take leave of his uncles, nor they of him. The king was advised to retire into Wales for a time until more favourable circumstances, which he agreed to, and left London without taking leave of any one. He carried with him all his council, except the archbishop of York, who returned into his diocese. It was fortunate for him he did so, otherwise it would have happened to him as to the other counsellors of the king, as I shall presently narrate. But I must speak as much of France as of England, when the matter requires it.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE WITH SEVERAL OTHERS MAKE PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY PRACTISES TO PREVENT THIS EXPEDITION.

**W**HEN the sweet season of summer and the delightful month of May were come, in the year of our Lord 1387, while the duke of Lancaster was making conquests in Galicia, and, in conjunction with the king of Portugal, overcoming Castille without opposition; there were, as I before said, great preparations making in France for the invasion of England, by the constable, at Treguier in Brittany, and by the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy and the admiral of France at Harfleur. They had under their command six thousand men at arms, two thousand cross-bows and six thousand lusty varlets, whom they intended to land at Dover and Orwell. It was ordered, that no one was to embark unless he were provided with suitable armour and provision for three months. They were the flower of chivalry, and had plenty of oats and hay for their horses. Their leaders had appointed a day for sailing, which was now almost arrived; and their servants were as busily employed as at Sluys in loading in all stores and other necessaries at the ports of Treguier and Harfleur. The men

arms, under the count de St. Pol and the admiral, were paid fifteen days in advance; but they were still on shore, and those in the more distant parts were daily arriving.

All things were now in such forwardness, no one could have imagined it would not take place. It was not, however, broken up by the captains, but by a most extraordinary event which happened in Brittany. The king of France and his council were sorely vexed thereat; but, as they could not amend it, they were forced to endure it as well as they could, and act prudently, for this was not the moment of revenge. Other news was brought to the king from Germany, at the same time, which I will relate in proper time and place; but I will mention that of Brittany first, as it so occurred in point of time, and was the most unfortunate, though the events in Germany were cause of greater expense.

If I were merely to say, such and such things happened at such times, without entering fully into the matter, which was grandly horrible and disastrous, it would be a chronicle, but no history. I might, to be sure, pass it by, if I had chosen it: that I will not do, but relate fully the fact, if God grant me life, abilities and leisure to chronicle and history the matter at length. You have before seen, in different parts of this history, how sir John de Montfort, called duke of Brittany (who indeed was so by conquest, though not by direct descent), had always supported the English to the utmost of his power against France.

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He had reason to attach himself to them, for they had made war for him, and without their assistance he would never have conquered before Auray nor elsewhere. You know also, from this history, that the duke of Brittany had no power over the greater part of his nobles nor the principal towns; more especially sir Bertrand du Guesclin, as long as he lived, sir Oliver de Clifson, constable of France, the lords de Beaumanoir, de Laval, de Rais, de Dinant, the viscount de Rohan and the lord de Rochefort, refused him obedience; and whichever way these lords incline the whole duchy follow their example. They were willing, indeed, to support him against any power but France; and truly I must say, that the Bretons have ever gallantly defended the honour of France, as will be apparent to any person who shall read this history.

But let it not be said, that I have been corrupted by the favour of count Guy de Blois (who has induced me to undertake, and has paid me for this history to my satisfaction), because he was nephew to the rightful duke of Brittany; for count Lewis of Blois was cousin-german to St. Charles, who as long as he lived was the true duke. It is not so; for I will speak the truth, and go straight forward, without colouring one side more than another, and that gallant prince who patronised this history never wished me in any way to act otherwise.

To return to my subject. You have read how the duke of Brittany, when he found he could not  
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manage his subjects, became suspicious of them, and fearful lest they should arrest him and confine him in one of the king of France's prisons. He left Brittany for England, with his household and the lady Jane his duchess, daughter of that good knight sir Thomas Holland. After staying there some time, he went to Flanders, where he resided, with his cousin-german count Lewis, upwards of a year and half, when his country, being more favourable, sent for him back. Some of the towns, however, on his return, continued their rebellion, especially Nantes; but all the barons, knights and prelates submitted to him, except those whom I have before named.

In order to put them under his obedience, by means of some of the principal cities which assented to his plans, and for the purpose of giving alarm to the king of France and his council who were desirous of laying taxes on Brittany similar to those of France and Picardy, which he and the country would never suffer, he demanded aid from the king of England of men at arms and archers, assuring the council of England, that if the king or one of his uncles would come to Brittany, in sufficient force, the whole country would be open, and ready to receive them.

King Richard and his council were greatly pleased on receiving this intelligence, which seemed to them so good, that they could not do better than accept the offer, since Brittany was so well inclined to receive them. They ordered thither the earl of Buckingham, with four thousand

land spears and eight thousand archers, who, having landed at Calais, marched through the kingdom of France without meeting any opposition, although they frequently offered battle, as you have before read. When they came to Brittany, they expected to find all ready to receive them, as they had indeed sustained a long march; but every thing was contrary to what had been promised; for the duke's advisers had managed with so much prudence, that they had made his peace with the young king of France: had Charles V. been alive, it could not have been done, for he hated him too much. The duke of Burgundy, who was, at that time, at the head of the government of France, was greatly instrumental in bringing this accommodation about through the entreaties of his duchess, who was very nearly related to the duke of Brittany. He was, in consequence, forced to break all the engagements he had made with the English, from the impossibility of his keeping them; for Bretons will never firmly join the English in making war on France. They never had, nor ever will have, such inclinations. The English were obliged to lodge themselves in Vannes and its neighbourhood, and to suffer the greatest distress and poverty, which destroyed many of their men, and all their horses.

When they left Brittany, they were greatly discontented with the duke, more particularly the earl of Buckingham, who, on his return to England, made such heavy complaints against him

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to the king, the duke of Lancaster and the council, that it was resolved by them to give John of Brittany his liberty, and carry him to Brittany, to wage war against the duke under his name. It was there said,—‘ Sir John de Montfort knows well that he owes his duchy solely to us, for without our aid he never could have gained it; and a pretty return he has made us, by wearing our army down with fatigue and famine, and fruitlessly expending our treasure. We must make him feel for his ingratitude; and we cannot better revenge ourselves than by setting his rival at liberty, and landing him in that country, where the towns and castles will open their gates to him, and expel the other who has thus deceived us.’

This resolution was unanimously adopted. John of Brittany was brought before the council, and told they would give him his liberty, regain for him the duchy of Brittany, and marry him to the lady Philippa of Lancaster, on condition that Brittany should be held as a fief from England, and that he would do the king homage for it. He refused compliance with these terms. He would, indeed, have accepted the lady, but peremptorily refused to enter into any engagements inimical to France, were he to remain prisoner all his days. The council, hearing this, grew cool in their offers of freedom, and replaced him under the guard of sir Thomas d'Ambreticourt. This I have already related, but I now return to it, on account of the event which happened in Brittany, as being the consequence; for the duke, well aware he was in disgrace with all England,

was greatly alarmed at the dangers that might ensue, from the treatment the earl of Buckingham and his army were forced to put up with, from the breach of all his engagements. Neither the king of England nor his uncles longer wrote him such friendly letters as they were used to do before the earl of Buckingham's expedition. His alarms were much increased when he heard that John of Brittany was returned from England, and said, the English had given him his liberty in revenge for his late conduct.

The duke upon this determined, by one bold stroke, to recover the favour of England, and to do it so secretly and opportunely that the English should thank him. He knew there was not a man on earth whom they more hated and dreaded than sir Oliver de Clifton, constable of France; for, in truth, his thoughts were daily and nightly employed on the means to injure England. He was the proposer of the late great armament at Sluys, and the chief director of those carried on at Treguier and Harfleur. The duke, therefore, to please the English, and to shew he had not much dependance on, nor love for the French, resolved to prevent the intended invasion of England taking effect: not, indeed, by forbidding his subjects to join in this attack on England, under pain of forfeiting their lands, for that would have too clearly discovered the side to which he leaned. He went to work more secretly, and thought he could not act more to his advantage than to arrest the constable, and ~~him to death,~~ for which the English would  
thank

thank him, as they hated him much. He was not afraid of his family, as it was not powerful enough to make war against him; for he had but two daughters, one married to John of Brittany, and the other to the viscount de Rohan. He could easily withstand them; and, as there would be but one baron slain, when dead, none would make war for him.

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## CHAP. XXXVII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SUMMONS HIS BARONS AND KNIGHTS TO A COUNCIL AT VANNES,—SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON, AND THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR ARE MADE PRISONERS IN THE CASTLE OF ERMINE, AND IN GREAT DANGER OF THEIR LIVES.

THE duke of Brittany, to accomplish his plan, appointed a great parliament to be holden at Vannes, and sent very affectionate letters to his barons and knights, to entreat they would be present; but he was particularly pressing with the constable of France, adding, that he was more anxious to see him than all the rest. The constable never thought of excusing himself, for the duke was now his acknowledged lord, and he wished to be in his favour: he came therefore to Vannes, as did great numbers of other barons. The assembly was numerous, and lasted some time; and many things were discussed which concerned the duke and the country, but the intended invasion of England was never touched

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on, for the duke pretended to know nothing about it, and kept a strict silence. The parliament was held in the castle de la Motte at Vannes, where the duke gave a grand dinner to the barons of Brittany, and kept them in enjoyment and affectionate conversation until night, when they returned to their lodgings, in the suburbs without the town. At this dinner were the greater part of the barons of Brittany, towards the end of which the duke shewed them the most friendly attention; but he had other thoughts in his heart, unknown to all excepting those to whom he had confidentially opened himself.

The constable of France, to please the knights of Brittany, and because he thought his office required it, invited all who had dined with the duke to dine with him on the morrow. Some came, but others went home to take leave of their wives and families; for it was the intention of the constable, on leaving Vannes, to make for Treguier and embark on board his fleet, which was ready for him. All this the duke knew, but never said one word; for he wished to have it believed that he was ignorant of it.

When the duke entered the hôtel of the constable, and was announced, all rose up, as was right, and kindly received him in the manner in which their lord should be accosted. He behaved in the most friendly manner, and, seating himself among them, eat and drank, and shewed them stronger marks of affection than he had ever before done. He said,—‘ My fair sirs, friends and companions, God send that you may ever come and go from me  
with

with equal pleasure, and that you may perform such deeds of arms as may satisfy you and gain you profit and renown.' 'May God,' they replied, 'render you the same, and we most humbly thank you that you are thus kindly come to see us before we depart.'

You must know, that in these days, the duke of Brittany was building a very handsome and strong castle near Vannes, called the castle of Ermine, which was almost completed. Being eager to catch the constable, he said to him, the lord de Beaumanoir and other barons,—'My dear sirs, I entreat that before you quit this country, you will come and see my castle of Ermine, that you may view what I have done, and the plans I intend executing.' They all accepted his invitation; for, his behaviour had been so kind and open, that they never thought he was imagining mischief. They accompanied the duke on horseback to this castle; and, when arrived, the duke, the constable, the lords de Laval and de Beaumanoir dismounted and entered within its apartments. The duke led the constable by the hand from chamber to chamber, and to all parts, even to the cellars, where wine was offered. When he had carried them all over it, they came to the keep; and, stopping at the entrance, the duke said,—'Sir Oliver, there is not a man on this side of the sea who understands masonry like you: enter, therefore, I beg of you, and examine the walls well; and, if you say it is properly built, it shall remain, otherwise it shall be altered.' The constable, who

thought nothing ill was intended, replied, he would cheerfully do so, and desired the duke to go first. 'No,' said the duke: 'go by yourself, while I talk a little here with the lord de Laval.'

The constable, desirous to acquit himself, entered the tower and ascended the staircase. When he had passed the first floor, some armed men, who had been there posted in ambush, knowing how they were to act, shut the door below them, and advanced on the constable, whom they seized, and dragged into an apartment, and loaded him with three pairs of fetters. As they were putting them on, they said,—'My lord, forgive what we are doing; for we are obliged to it by the strict orders we have had from the duke of Brittany\*.' If the constable was alarmed, it is no wonder; but he ought not to have been surprised, for, since the quarrel which he had had with the duke, he would never come near him, though many invitations and passports were sent. He was fearful of trusting himself with the duke, in which he was justified; for, when he did come, you see the consequences of the duke's hatred, which now burst out.

When the lord de Laval, who was at the entrance of the tower, heard and saw the door shut with violence, he was afraid of some plot against

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\* These excuses were afterwards of no avail; for the constable punished them according to their deserts. He only pardoned a squire, named Bernard, who had the humanity to give him his cloak, to preserve him from the dampness of the place.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

his brother-in-law; and, turning to the duke, who looked as pale as death, was confirmed something was wrong. He said,—‘Ah, my lord, for God’s sake what are they doing? Do not use any violence against the constable.’ ‘Lord de Laval, mount your horse, and go hence, for you may depart when you please: I know well what I am about.’ ‘My lord,’ replied the lord de Laval, ‘I will never depart without my brother-in-law the constable.’ At these words, the lord de Beaumanoir (whom the duke greatly hated) came and asked where the constable was. The duke, drawing his dagger, advanced to him and said, ‘Beaumanoir, dost thou wish to be like thy master?’ ‘My lord,’ replied Beaumanoir, ‘I believe my master cannot but be in a good plight.’ ‘I ask thee again, if thou wouldst wish to be like him.’ ‘Yes, my lord,’ said de Beaumanoir. The duke then taking his dagger by the point, said,—‘Well then, Beaumanoir, since thou wouldst be like him, thou must thrust one of thy eyes out\*.’ The lord de Beaumanoir, seeing, from the duke’s countenance, things were taking a bad turn, cast himself on his knee and said,—‘My lord, I have that opinion of your honour and nobleness of mind, that, if it please God, you will never act otherwise than right. We are at your mercy, and are come hither solely to accompany you, and at your own request: do not therefore dis-

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\* Alluding to the constable having but one eye. He lost it at the battle of Auray; notwithstanding which, he never quitted the field of battle.

honour yourself, by executing any wild scheme, if such be in your thoughts, for you may hereafter repent of it.'

'Go, go,' replied the duke: 'thou shalt have neither better nor worse than him.' He was then arrested, by those who had previously received their orders, dragged into a room, and fettered with three pairs of irons. He was much alarmed, as you may suppose, for he knew the duke loved him as little as he did the constable, but he could not then help it.

News was soon spread through the castle and town, that the constable and the lord Beaumanoir had been arrested and confined; but it surprised many that the lord de Laval was not confined with them; and that the duke had allowed him to depart when he pleased. The constable's imprisonment astonished all who heard it; and not without cause; for it was said, the duke's hatred was so strong, he would have him and his companion put to death.

The duke was exceedingly blamed by all knights and squires who heard of this: they said,—'That no prince had ever dishonoured himself so much as the duke of Brittany. He invites the constable to dine with him, who accepts the invitation, goes to his palace and drinks of his wine. He is then requested to view his buildings, wherein he is arrested: never was the like heard of. What does the duke think to do with him? He has rendered himself infamous, for never was there a more disgraceful act; and, henceforward, no one will have

have confidence in princes, since the duke has thus played the traitor, and, by treacherous means, enticed these gallant men into his castle, wherein he imprisons them. What will the king of France say to this? and especially as the consequence must be that he must give up the intended invasion of England. Never was such wickedness thought of. At present he has discovered what was rankling in his heart. Did any one in Brittany, or elsewhere, ever hear of the like? If a poor knight had done so, he would have been for ever disgraced. In whom can any man place confidence but in his lord, who is bounden to act uprightly, and redress such wrongs as his vassals may complain of? Who can take upon him to punish this deed, or who is capable of it, but the king of France? The duke now openly shews his attachment to the English, and that he means to assist them, by thus preventing the expedition against them taking effect. What ought the knights and squires of Brittany at this moment to do? Why, they should instantly leave their homes, and hasten to lay siege to the castle of Ermine, and inclose the duke within it, and never depart until they have taken him, dead or alive, and carried him, like a false and disloyal prince, to the king of France, for him to punish him according to his deserts.'

Thus did those knights speak, who had been at the parliament, and who had not left Vannes and that part of the country; but they were much afraid lest the duke should put them

to death. Others said,—‘The lord de Laval is still with the duke, and will prevent it; for he is so wise and prudent, he will check the duke’s rage.’ In effect, he did so; for, had he not exerted himself to the utmost, there is not a doubt but that the constable would have been murdered that night, had he had a thousand lives.

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### CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON, THROUGH THE EXERTIONS OF THE LORD DE LAVAL, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, BY PAYING A LARGE SUM OF MONEY, AND DELIVERING UP TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SOME OF HIS CASTLES.

**I**T may be readily believed, that the constable was not at his ease, when he found himself thus entrapped and ironed. He was guarded by thirty men, who were unable to comfort him, for they could only obey their lord’s orders. In his own mind, he considered himself as a dead man: for he had not the most distant hope of any assistance coming to him. He had his fetters taken thrice from him, and was stretched on the floor; for the duke, at one time, would have him beheaded, at another drowned; and one or other of these deaths he would certainly have suffered, if it had not been for the lord de Laval. When he heard the duke give orders for the constable’s death, he flung himself on his knees, and, with uplifted hands and tears, said; ‘Ah, my lord,

for

for God's mercy, think better of this matter: do not act so cruelly against my brother-in-law the constable. He cannot have deserved death. Through kindness, tell me what it is that has so mightily angered you against him. I swear, that whatever may be his crime, he shall make such amends, in body and estate, or I for him, or both of us together, as shall surpass any thing you may imagine, or condemn him to, excepting death or imprisonment. Remember, for God's sake, my lord, how you were educated together in the same hôtel with the duke of Lancaster, who is so loyal and gallant a prince, none ever was, nor will be his equal. For God's mercy, remember, my lord, how, in former times, before he had made his peace with France, he had always served you loyally; he assisted you in the recovery of your duchy; and you ever found him ready to support you in the field and in council. If you have not any very just cause indeed, that moves your passion, he cannot be deserving death.'

'Lord de Laval,' replied the duke, 'allow me to act as I please. Clifton has so frequently angered me, that it is now necessary I make him feel it. Go your ways, I want nothing with you: let me shew my cruelty; for I am resolved he shall die.' 'Ah, my lord,' replied the lord de Laval, 'moderate your rage, and hear reason. If you thus put him to death, no prince will ever so completely disgrace himself; and there will not be a knight, squire, nor honest man in all Brittany, who will not mortally hate you,

and

do every thing they can to drive you out of your duchy. Neither the king of England nor his council will thank you ; and would you thus disgrace yourself for the life of one man? For the love of God, change your intention, as the one you want to carry into effect is not only good for nothing but dishonourable. It would be infamous thus to put to death so great a baron and so gallant a knight as the lord de Clifton ; and should you do so, it will be considered as traitorous, and a reproach to you before God and by all the world. You invited him to dine with you : he came. You then seek for him, in the most friendly manner, and desire him to accompany you to see your buildings : he does so : he obeys your every command, and drinks of your wine ; and is all this affection you shew him but a veil to cover your treachery, and the means to rob him of his life ? Should you do so, no lord will be ever so disgraced : all the world will detest you, reproach you for it, and make war upon you. But, since your hatred is so violent against the constable, I will tell you how you shall act : you shall give him his liberty for a large sum of florins. This you may compound for ; and, should he hold any castle that you claim as yours, he shall deliver it up ; and I will be his security for the due performance of whatever you may agree to.'

When the duke of Brittany heard the lord de Laval thus address him, and never for one moment quit his presence, for he followed him the whole night : he paused a while, and, being  
somewhat

somewhat cooled, said,—‘ Lord de Laval, you have been of the greatest service to your brother-in-law; for know that he is the man whom I hate the most in the world, and, if you had not been here, he should not have been alive to-morrow morning: but your eloquence has saved him. Go to him, and ask if he be willing to pay down one hundred thousand francs; for I will have no other security but the money; and surrender to me three castles and one town, such as Château Broc, Château Josselin, le Blanc, and the town of Jugon. When he shall pay his ransom, and put me, or those I may send thither in possession of these places, I will give him his liberty\*.’ ‘ My lord,’ replied the lord de Laval, ‘ I give you a thousand thanks for having so graciously listened to my entreaties: be assured that all you ask shall be granted: the town and castles shall be given up, and the money paid before he leave this place.’

The lord de Laval was rejoiced beyond measure when he found his brother thus freed from prison and death. He had the gate of the tower opened, which could not be done but by the duke’s order, and, mounting the staircase, found the constable much alarmed (for he was expecting every moment to be put to death), and

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\* The historian of Brittany, dom Morice, mentions the following castles and places which the duke insisted on having, with the hundred thousand francs, for the ransom of the constable:

Josselin, Lamballe, Broon, Jugon, Blein, Guingamp, La Rochederrien, Chastellaudren, Clisson, and Château-gui, which were strong places, some belonging to the constable, and others to John of Brittany, count de Penthièvre.

chained down with three pairs of fetters; but, when he saw the lord de Laval, his heart revived, for he imagined some treaty had been entered into. The lord de Laval said to the guards,—‘Unfetter my brother Clifton, and then I shall talk with him;’ and addressing himself to the constable,—‘Dear brother, will you consent to whatever I may have done?’ ‘Yes, brother,’ replied the constable. At these words his irons were taken off. The lord de Laval took him aside, and said,—‘Brother, I have, with much difficulty, saved your life; but it is on condition, that you pay down, before you leave this place, one hundred thousand francs, and surrender to the duke three castles and your town of Jugon, otherwise you will not have your liberty.’ ‘I agree to all this,’ replied the constable. ‘You are in the right, brother,’ said the lord de Laval. ‘But,’ said the constable, ‘who will go to Clifton and elsewhere to collect the money? I believe, fair brother de Laval, you must undertake this.’ ‘No,’ replied the lord de Laval: ‘I will never quit this castle until I have you with me; for I too well know the duke’s cruel disposition; and he may repent of his bargain when I am gone, by some foolish conversation he may hear concerning you, and the whole be broken off.’ ‘And whom then can we send thither?’ asked the constable. ‘The lord de Beaumanoir,’ replied his brother-in-law: ‘we will send him, for he is a prisoner like yourself, and he shall undertake to collect the whole.’ ‘Well,’ said the constable, ‘go down stairs, and order whatever you shall think for the best.’

## CHAP. XXXIX.

THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR IS SET AT LIBERTY BY THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, THAT HE MAY COLLECT THE RANSOM FOR THE CONSTABLE, WHO OBTAINS HIS FREEDOM ON SURRENDERING THE PLACES AGREED ON.—THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE CONSTABLE IS KNOWN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.

THE lord de Laval lost no time in going to the chamber of the duke, who was undressing himself for bed, as he had not slept the whole night. On his entrance he bowed, and said,—‘ My lord, you must set at liberty the lord de Beaumanoir, that brother Clifton may talk with him ; for it is he who must go for the money, and give your people possession of the castles and town. ‘ Well,’ replied the duke, ‘ let his irons be taken off, and put them in an apartment together : I shall look to you for the performance of the treaty, as I do not wish to see them ; and, when I shall have slept a little, return to me again, and we will talk more on the subject.’ ‘ Very well, my lord’ said the lord de Laval, and quitted the chamber, accompanied by two knights, who conducted him to the place where the lord de Beaumanoir was confined. He was in hourly expectation of being put to death ; and, when the door opened (as he owned afterwards), he thought they were come to lead him to execution.

tion. On seeing the lord de Laval, his spirits were raised, and still more when he said, 'Lord de Beaumanoir, rejoice : your liberty is granted.' On this his fetters were taken off, and he was led into an apartment, whither the constable was also conducted, and placed between them. Wine and plenty of provision were brought, and the whole of the household were much pleased when they heard how matters were going on, and that all would end well. They had very unwillingly witnessed what had been done to the constable and the lord de Beaumanoir; but they could not help it, bound as they were to obey their lord's orders, right or wrong.

From the time the drawbridge had been raised, and the gates shut, no person whatever had entered the castle; for the keys were in the duke's chamber until he was awakened, which was not sooner than nine o'clock, when he arose. This alarmed those squires and varlets who were waiting without, and they knew not what to think of it. News of what had passed was already carried to Treguier, where they said,—'Do you know what has happened? The duke of Brittany has imprisoned, in his castle of Ermine, the constable of France, the lord de Laval and the lord de Beaumanoir, and, it is supposed, will murder them, if he has not already done it.' Knights and squires were astonished, and deplored the event, saying,—'Our expedition is at an end, for we shall lose the fine weather. Ah, constable! how unfortunate have you been to suffer weak counsel to deceive you. The parliament

ment held at Vannes was purposely to entrap you. Your opinion formerly of the duke was such that you said, if he were to send you five hundred assurances of safety, you would never trust yourself with him, so strong were our suspicions then; but now you simply accompany him alone, and are miserably paid for it?

The whole duchy of Brittany bewailed the treatment of the constable, and knew not how to act. The knights and squires of the fleet said,—‘Why do we stay here? why do we not go and invest the duke in his castle of Ermine? and, if he should have put the constable to death, confine him: if he detain him in prison, why do we not remain there until we have set him free; for Brittany has never suffered such a loss as now, by the capture of the constable.’

Such were the different conversations that passed; but no one moved, as they were waiting for further intelligence; and all were running to different quarters in search of it. Within two days, the king of France and his uncles were informed of what had happened to the constable, to their great astonishment. The duke of Bourbon had then left the court and was at Avignon, on his way to Castille, as he was desirous of first seeing the pope. He, however, heard of it when at Lyon with the count de Savoie.

The count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy and the admiral of France, were on the point of embarking at Harfleur, when they learnt how the duke of Brittany had, by a trick, imprisoned the constable and the lord de Beaumanoir; and  
that

that it was currently believed in Brittany he had put them to death, for he hated them mortally. These lords were so thunderstruck at the intelligence, that they said,—‘ Our expedition is at an end: let us disband our men at arms, and make for Paris, where we shall know from the king what he would have us do.’ ‘ It is well that we should go to Paris,’ replied the admiral; ‘ but there is not any necessity for dismissing all our men at arms. Perhaps they may be wanted elsewhere, in Castille, whither the duke of Bourbon is gone, or in Brittany against this duke. Do you imagine the king of France will quietly suffer what he has done? No, by God: he will never escape without losing two hundred thousand florins at least, for the indignity he has shewn a constable of France; and he will be lucky if he come off so well. Was ever any thing heard or seen like this conduct? which has ruined the king’s expedition, and prevented him from annoying his enemies. Let us stay where we are for two or three days, when we shall hear something more from Brittany or Paris.’

## CHAP. XL.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DICTATES THE TERMS OF THE TREATIES, FOR THE SURRENDER OF DIFFERENT PLACES BY THE CONSTABLE.—THE EXPEDITIONS FROM TREGUIER AND HARFLEUR ARE BROKEN UP.—THE CONSTABLE, ON HIS DELIVERANCE, MAKES HIS COMPLAINT TO THE KING OF FRANCE, AND RESIGNS TO HIM HIS OFFICE OF CONSTABLE.

**I** WILL now return to the duke of Brittany. When he had reposed a little, he arose, dressed himself, and sent for the lord de Laval to his chamber, with whom he held a long conversation. A treaty was then written down, as the duke dictated, to bind the constable to the complete surrender of the places before mentioned, and to settle them on the duke and his heirs, absolutely and without appeal, which treaty was to be sealed by the constable.

The lord de Beaumanoir was ordered by the constable to go to his castles and town to dismiss all his officers, and give possession to those whom the duke might send thither. With the surrender of all these places, it was necessary, likewise, to pay down one hundred thousand francs. On the gates being opened, the lord de Beaumanoir departed, accompanied by some of the duke's people, to fulfil the orders of the constable, who en-

treated

treated him to make all speed for his deliverance. By them Vannes and the country, which was beginning to be in motion, learnt that the constable was not in danger of his life, having been ransomed. All those attached to him were greatly rejoiced; and such knights and squires as had taken it up the most warmly remained quiet; but, had matters been otherwise, they were determined to surround the castle of Ermine and inclose the duke within it, and would never have done any thing with more willingness.

News is soon spread abroad, on wings more speedy than the wind. The three barons of Harfleur were informed that the constable was out of danger of being murdered, but that he had very narrowly escaped; and was obliged, to save his life, to surrender three of his castles and a town, besides paying down as a ransom one hundred thousand francs. In their conversations, they said,—‘ Things now go well, since his life is safe: as for his castles and ransom, the constable will soon regain them; and the king has enough for him, should he want any money. It is over: our expedition is put an end to; and we may now disband our people and go to Paris, to learn from the king what is to be done; for we know that all the armaments at Treguier are countermanded, which is a sure sign that nothing will be attempted this season, and with reason; for the constable will be solely occupied to revenge himself for the insult the duke of Brittany has put upon him.’ These three lords, having dismissed all the men at arms and cross-bows that were in and about Harfleur,

fleur, took the road for Paris, where the king resided.

The lord de Beaumanoir was so active, that, within four days, he put the duke's officers in the possession of the three castles and the town of Jugon, to the satisfaction of the duke. He afterwards collected the amount of the ransom, and paid it according to the duke's pleasure. When this was all done, the lord de Laval said to the duke,—‘My lord, you have now received the whole of your demands; the three castles and Jugon, and one hundred thousand francs, deliver up to me, therefore, my brother-in-law, the constable.’ ‘Willingly,’ replied the duke: ‘let him depart: I give him his liberty.’ The constable was then given up, and instantly set out, with the lord de Laval, from the castle of Ermine\*.

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\* This conduct of the duke of Brittany is differently related by dom Morice, the historian of Brittany, by which it appears that the constable very narrowly escaped death.

The duke called to him sir John de Bazvalen, in whom he had the greatest confidence, and ordered him to put the constable to death, at midnight, as privately as possible. Bazvalen represented in vain the consequences that would ensue, for the duke said he had resolved on it, and would have it done. During the night, his passion being calmer, he repented having given such orders, and, at day-break, sent for Bazvalen, and asked if his orders had been obeyed. On being answered in the affirmative, the duke cried out, ‘How, is Clifton dead?’ ‘Yes, my lord: he was drowned this night, and his body is buried in a garden.’ ‘Alas!’ replied the duke, ‘this is a most pitiful good morrow. Would

When they were at liberty, the constable made no long stay in Brittany, but, mounting a good courser, and attended solely by a page, made such haste, as to arrive at Paris in two days. He dismounted at his own hôtel, and instantly waited on the king and his uncles at the Louvre. His servants and equipage followed him in handsome array. The court had already been informed of his deliverance, but they knew not that he was so near. The doors of the king's apartments were, according to orders, opened to him; and, when in the presence of the king, he cast himself on his knees, and said,—‘Most redoubted lord, your father (may God pardon his sins) appointed me constable of France, which office I have truly executed, to the best of my abilities, and there never has been any complaint made against me. If any one, excepting yourself and my lords your uncles, shall say to the contrary, or that I have acted otherwise than most

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to God, sir John, I had believed what you urged against it. I see that from henceforward all comfort is lost to me. Quit my presence, and never again let me see your face.’

After the knight had allowed him to suffer for some time the pains of his remorse, he returned and said, ‘My lord, as I know the cause of your misery, I believe I can provide a remedy; for there is a cure for all things.’ ‘Not for death,’ replied the duke. Bazvalen then told him, that foreseeing the consequences and the remorse he would feel if his orders, then given from passion, were obeyed, he had not executed his commands, and that the constable was alive.

The lord de Laval then entered, and the remainder is nearly as Froissart relates it,

loyally

loyally towards you and the crown of France, I will throw him my glove for him to prove it.'

Neither the king nor any other person made reply to this speech. Upon which the constable added,—'Most noble lord and king, it has happened in Brittany, that while I was executing the duties of your office, the duke had me arrested and confined in his castle of Ermine; and would have put me to death, without any other cause than his own outrageous will, if God, and brother de Laval, had not assisted me. To deliver myself from his hands, I was constrained to surrender to him three strong castles and a handsome town, besides one hundred thousand francs paid down. This insult and loss, which the duke of Brittany has put on me, most nearly concerns your royal majesty; for the invasion of England, which I and my companions were eager to attempt, is now put an end to, I therefore resign into your hands the office of constable, for you to make such provision in the matter as you may please: I will not longer hold what I cannot gain any honour by.'

'Constable,' replied the king, 'we have before heard the great insult you have suffered, which has been very much to our prejudice as well as to that of the country. We shall summon our peers of France, and consider how we should act in such a case. Do not you trouble yourself about the matter; for you shall have ample justice done by us, whatever may be the consequences.' He then took the constable by the hand, and made him rise, saying,—

‘Constable, we will not that you thus resign your office, but that you continue to exercise its functions until we order otherwise.’

The constable again flung himself on his knees and said,—‘Dear sire, the insult and disgrace I have suffered from the duke of Brittany oppresses my mind so much, that I am unfit to hold the office, which is so considerable, that it requires the utmost attention. I am, besides, obliged to give answers, and converse with all manner of persons who come to me on business; and, indeed, at this moment, I am not capable of giving the orders I ought: I beg of you, therefore, to accept it, and appoint another for a time; for I shall be always ready and willing to obey your commands.’

‘Well, sire,’ said the duke of Burgundy, ‘he offers very handsomely: you will consider of it.’  
‘That I will,’ replied the king, who again made him rise.

The constable advanced, respectfully, towards the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to converse with them on public affairs, and to inform them more particularly of what had passed in Brittany; for they were much interested in it, as they had the government of the kingdom. In the course of his conversation, the constable found they were more indifferent about the matter, than the king’s answer made him believe; for they greatly blamed him for having gone to Vannes. He replied, he could not offer any excuses for it. The duke of Burgundy added,—‘How could you think of going  
thither,

thither, when your fleet, and the knights and squires, were ready, and waiting for you at Treguier? Besides, when you were at Vannes, and had dined with him, why did you not return? for you had no business to remain there longer; and what could have induced you to attend him to his castle of Ermine?' 'My lord,' replied the constable, 'he shewed me so many attentions that I could not refuse it.' 'Constable,' said the duke of Burgundy, 'such attentions are always deceitful: I thought you had been more cunning. You may now go: the business shall have a favourable end; and we will, at our leisure, attend to it.'

The constable next addressed himself particularly to the duke of Berry, but soon discovered that these lords were more indifferent about him than the king, for not having acted according to their expectations: he therefore left the Louvre, and returned to his hôtel. Many great lords of the parliament and council came thither to visit and comfort him: among the number were, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy and the admiral of France, who said,—'Constable, be not cast down: you shall be amply revenged on the duke of Brittany, for he has now committed himself so strongly by the insult offered France that he may pay for it by the loss of his duchy. Go, and amuse yourself at your estate of Montlehery\*, while we act for you here: the peers of France are sum-

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\* Montlehery,—a town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

moned, and things shall not remain as they are.'

The constable followed their advice, and went to Montlehery, having for a time surrendered his office. It was said, that the lord Guy de la Trimouille was to succeed him; but it was not so: he was too prudent and wise ever to have accepted it over the head of sir Oliver de Clifton.

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## CHAP. XLI.

### THE DUKE OF GUELDRES SENDS A CHALLENGE TO FRANCE, IN FAVOUR OF ENGLAND.

**T**HE same week in which the news came to Paris of the constable's imprisonment, there was intelligence from Germany highly displeasing to the king, his uncles and the council. The duke of Gueldres, son to the duke of Juliers, had entered into an alliance with England, to make war on France, and had accepted of a subsidy of four thousand francs yearly. This pension his father, the duke of Juliers, formerly possessed, but had renounced it; and the son, who was young, had taken it, at the solicitations of the king of England and his council, on condition he should send his challenge to the king of France, and carry on a war against him to the utmost of his power. He was the more inclined to support the English because he was already at war with the dukes

chefs and country of Brabant, which country was favourable to France, for the reversion of it would fall to the duke of Burgundy and to his children.

The duke of Gueldres, to shew he was in earnest and determined to act against France, sent, during the time the news of the constable's misfortune was fresh, to defy the king of France, by letters sealed with his seal, that were very bitter and wrothful. They were not accepted with pleasure by the king nor his uncles, as I shall explain hereafter in the course of this history, when I speak more fully of the wars of Brittany and Gueldres.

The king, however, shewed no outward signs of dissatisfaction, but handsomely entertained the squire who had brought this challenge. He had been very much terrified at Tournay; for, having shewn the challenge to the provost and principal inhabitants, he wanted not to go further, saying that it was fully sufficient to have delivered his commission at so grand a city as Tournay. This did not satisfy the provost, though Tournay belonged to France, and he arrested the squire and had him closely confined: he then wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to say what he had done, and to know his farther commands on the subject. The duke ordered the provost to conduct the squire to Paris, who certainly thought that now he could not escape death. It fell out otherwise, for the king, his uncles and the court graciously received

ceived him; and the king of France gave him a silver goblet weighing four marcs with fifty francs within it. He was well entertained, and, when he returned, had a good passport given to him.

The king and the whole court were much troubled on this matter, when the constable arrived to make his complaints against the duke of Brittany; and this increased it, for, it was now apparent, difficulties were arising on all sides, and much prudence and good sense would be necessary to meet them. The king and his council, notwithstanding this vexation from Gueldres, were unwilling that the constable, who had so faithfully served the king in Flanders and elsewhere, should not have redress for the wrongs he had suffered from the duke of Brittany, by confining his person and seizing his castles and towns without a shadow of right. The lord de Coucy and the admiral were particularly active in this business.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who were carrying on a prosperous war in Galicia, and speak of their operations.

## CHAP. XLII.

TWO BRETON CAPTAINS, HAVING VALIANTLY  
DEFENDED THE TOWN OF ORENSE AGAINST  
THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, CAPITULATE ON  
TERMS OFFERED BY THE ENGLISH.

**Y**OU have heard that the king and queen of Portugal were present at the tilt, between sir John Holland and sir Reginald de Roye, at Entença. The king, before he departed, told the duke of Lancaster, that, on his return to Oporto, he would, within six days, take the field, for that his men were now quite ready.

The duke ordered the lady Constance, his duchess, to remain at Sant Jago, under the guard of the lord Fitzwalter, a powerful English baron, with one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers, saying, on his quitting Entença,—‘Lady, you will retire to the city of Compostella, while the king of Portugal, myself and army, seek our enemies in Castille and combat them wherever we may find them, and we shall then know if ever we be to possess any part of Castille.’ The lady replied, ‘God’s will be done.’ They then separated for the present. The duchess was escorted out of danger by sir Thomas Percy and sir Evan Fitzwarren, with two hundred spears, who then returned to the duke. He had left Entença, and was marching towards a city in Galicia, called Orense, which would not acknowledge his claim to the crown.

The place was strong, and had a garrison of  
Bretons,

Bretons, who had undertaken the defence at their own risk; and, as they expected the duke and his English would come thither, they had greatly added to its strength. The marshal of the army had received frequent information, that those of Orense had refused obedience to the duke, and were daily increasing the fortifications of the place; he therefore, in conjunction with the constable, sir John Holland, advised the duke to march thither.

When the army was tolerably near, it was halted and quartered thereabout. The first night was very fine and so wondrous hot (for it was about Ascension-day), that the lords had their tents and pavilions pitched in the plain, under the beautiful olive-trees which were there. They remained within them all the night and following day, thinking the town would instantly surrender, without waiting to be assaulted. The townsmen would willingly have done so, if they had been the masters, but some adventurous Bretons governed it. Two gallant captains from lower Brittany, one called the bastard d'Aulroy, the other Pennefort, were the commanders. They were good men at arms, as it appeared, when they undertook to defend the town of Orense, without other assistance, against the army of the duke of Lancaster.

On the third day, the English having well examined the place, to choose the weakest parts for their attacks, the constable, the marshal and the admiral, ordered their trumpets to sound for the assault. The army then armed itself, and assembled on the plain, when it was  
formed

formed in four divisions, to make as many different attacks. They marched slowly and in handsome array, with trumpets sounding before them, as far as the ditches, and halted. There was not any water in them; but there was a strong palisade in front of the walls, and so many thorns and brambles, that no man at arms could pass through.

The attack, however, commenced at four places; and men at arms and lusty varlets crossed the ditches with hatchets on their wrists, with which they cleared away the thorns, to the utmost of their power. The Galicians annoyed them with lancing darts; and, had they not been well shielded, numbers must have been killed or wounded; but those men at arms, who entered the ditch, were defended by their servants, bearing shields before them.

The English archers made such good use of their bows, from the top of the ditch, that scarcely any dared to appear on the bulwarks.

The duke of Lancaster came to view the attack, mounted on a very tall horse, which the king of Portugal had given him, and to notice those who behaved well, and was so delighted, that he staid upwards of three hours. All the thorns and brambles were cleared away by this first attack, so that the palisades might be approached. The retreat was sounded; for the duke said to the marshal,—‘Our men, sir Thomas, have done enough for to-day: let them retire, for they must be now fatigued.’ ‘My lord, I am willing it should be so,’ replied the marshal, and ordered the retreat. The army  
returned

returned to its quarters, carrying with them the dead and wounded, and there passed the night. They had plenty of wine, but it was so hot they could scarcely drink it; and, unless mixed with a great deal of water, those who made too free with it were rendered unfit for any thing the ensuing day.

On the morrow, they determined, in council, that, on account of the excessive heat, the fatigues the army had suffered, and the consequences of their having drank too much of this wine, there should not be any attack made the whole day; but that, on the next day, they would renew the assault from before sun-rise, in the cool of the morning, until eight o'clock. Orders were issued for the army to remain quietly in camp, and no one to arm until the trumpet of the marshal sounded.

The duke of Lancaster received this day intelligence from the king of Portugal. He had left Oporto, and was on his march towards Santaren, for he intended to enter Castille by that frontier, and the armies to join on the river Duero, and besiege Beneventé or Vilalpando. Such was the plan of the king of Portugal, if, indeed, the king of Castille and his French allies, who were daily increasing, did not march to oppose him. Should they make no opposition, nor shew any signs of offering battle, it was necessary the junction of the two armies be made as soon as possible. The duke was so well pleased with this news as to give the bearer of it ten nobles. On the appointed day, for the renewal of the attack, the marshal's trumpet  
sounded

founded, at the first dawn of the morning. Knights and squires made instantly ready, and posted themselves under their banners and pennons; but it was upwards of an hour before they were all drawn up. The duke remained in his pavilion, and did not rise thus early, for there was not any need of it. The marshal advanced into the plain, knowing well the duties of his office; and those ordered for the attack placed themselves under his pennon.

News was spread through Orense, that the English were marching to the assault; for the Bretons, on guard, had discovered it from the founding of the marshal's trumpet. The men and women of the town were on the alert; and the Bretons cried to them,—‘Hasten to the bulwarks: be men of courage, and not frightened at what you may see; we are not frightened; for we know the place is very strong, and we have plenty of darts, and well tempered lances, to repulse our enemies, besides stones and flints to cast down on them: we know, also, that should we be hard pushed, they will receive us favourably; and that is the worst we can suffer.’

‘By God,’ said the captains who were present, ‘we have been in many weaker places than this, and were never the worse for it.’

The Galicians, whether they would or not, took courage from the exhortations of the Bretons. This would not have been the case if the Bretons had not been in the town; for they would have surrendered on the first summons. To say the truth, the common people of Castille  
and

and Galicia are good for nothing in war: they are badly armed, and of poor courage. The nobles, who call themselves gentlemen, are tolerably well; but they like better to prance about, spurring their horses, than to be engaged in more serious matters.

The English arrived about sun-rise before Orense, and, having entered the ditch, which, though dry, was deep enough, advanced to the palisades, with hatchets and iron bars, and began to break down and level them. When this was done, they had still another ditch to cross, before they could approach the wall, which was as wide as the other, and many parts full of mud; but they were indifferent to this, and rushing into it, came to the walls.

Those on the battlements were not dismayed at what they saw, but defended themselves valiantly. They lanced darts at the enemy, the stroke of which is very deadly; and it required strong armour to resist their blows. The English, having prepared ladders the preceding day, had them brought and fixed to different parts of the walls; and you would have seen knights and squires, eager for renown, ascend them with targets on their heads, and fight, sword in hand, with the Bretons, who, in truth, defended themselves gallantly; for I hold such conduct valorous, in allowing themselves to be so often attacked, knowing well they should not have assistance from any quarter. The king of Castille, and the French knights had determined to permit the English to overrun Galicia, or any other parts,

parts, if they could, without offering them the chance of a general combat, and with this the Bretons had been made acquainted.

Some of the English said,—‘Ah, if all the towns in Castille give us as much trouble as this, we shall never have done.’ Others replied,—‘There is much to be pillaged within it, that has been brought thither from all parts; and it is this which induces them to make so obstinate a resistance, that they may surrender on terms, and preserve their wealth and merchandise from being plundered.’ Some asked, ‘Who are the captains?’ ‘They are two bastard Bretons, good men at arms, who know what sieges and assaults are, for they have been at many. Their names are the bastard de Pennefort and the bastard d’Aulroy.’ ‘Whoever they may be, they are valiant fellows thus to hold out, without any appearance of succour coming to them.’

Those who mounted the ladders were sometimes repulsed so severely, as to be tumbled to the ground, which caused much shouting among the Castillians.

When the duke of Lancaster was risen and had heard mass, he said he would go and view the attack. He mounted a courser, but unarmed, and had his pennon, that was emblazoned with the arms of Castille, England and France, borne before him, which fluttered in the wind, so that the extremities touched the ground. On the duke’s arrival, the besiegers exerted themselves the more, in order to be noticed and praised. The enemy, observing the pennon, knew

knew the duke was come, and they also gained courage to continue the defence. Thus were both parties employed until it was eight o'clock; and there did not seem any probability that Orense would speedily be won by such attacks. The duke asked who were the captains of the garrison. On their being named, he said,—  
 'Tell the marshal to treat with them; or send some one to know if they be willing to enter into a negotiation for surrendering the town, and placing it under our obedience. I do not believe that question has been put to them. Go,' added he to one of his knights, 'sir William, and bring the marshal to speak with me.'

The knight left the duke, rode to the marshal, and said, 'Sir Thomas, my lord wishes to speak with you.' The marshal went to him; and, when in his presence, the duke said,—  
 'Marshal, do you know whether these Bretons, who hold the place against us, would be willing to put themselves under our obedience? We are fatiguing and wounding our men, and wasting our ammunition, when we know not how soon we may be in greater want of it. I therefore beg you will go and inform them you are willing to treat.'

'My lord,' replied sir Thomas, 'I will cheerfully do so; and since you wish to shew them mercy, it is just they should be heard.' The marshal then returned to the assault, and, calling to him a herald, said,—  
 'Go, and manage to speak with the besieged; our men will make way for thee; and tell them I am willing to enter into a treaty. The herald  
 did he would do so, and entered the ditch  
 clothed

clothed in a coat of arms which had belonged to the duke of Lancaster, saying, 'Open your ranks, and make way for me: I am sent by the marshal to parley with these Bretons.' As he said this, they made room for him to pass. The bastard d'Aulroy, seeing him push through the crowd, for he had observed from the ramparts what had passed between him and the marshal, advanced on the battlements, and, shewing himself, said; 'Herald, what is it you want? I am one of the captains in this town, with whom, I fancy, you come to speak.' 'It is so,' replied the herald, whose name was Percy: 'my lord marshal bids you come to the barriers, for he is desirous to parley and treat with you.' 'I will do so,' said the bastard, 'if he will order the attack to cease and his men to retire, otherwise not.' 'I believe you,' answered the herald, and returned to relate his answer to the marshal.

The marshal called his trumpet, and said, 'Sound the retreat;' which was done, and the assault ceased on all sides. Upon this, the captains in the town passed the gates, and came to the barriers, where they met the constable, sir John Holland, the marshal and many others of the English. 'How, my fair sirs,' said the marshal, 'can you think of thus holding out and suffering yourselves to be taken by storm, by which you may probably be slain, and for certain will lose all. We know well that the townsmen are very willing to surrender to our lord and lady, and would long ago have done so, if you had not been with them. You may repent of it;

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for, let happen what will, we shall never depart hence until the place be ours by fair means or foul. Consult together, and then come with your answer, for I have full powers to treat with you.'

'Sir,' replied the bastard Aulroy, 'we have already consulted and formed our resolution. If you will consent that we, and what belongs to us, be conducted in safety to Vilalpando, or wherever else we may please to go, we will surrender the town; but the inhabitants of both sexes, who may choose to remain in it, shall be permitted so to do, without any risk or molestation, provided they submit themselves to the duke and duchess of Lancaster, as other towns in Galicia have done.

We know that you are the marshal of the army, part of whose office is to enter into treaties with an enemy, and likewise that the duke will ratify whatever engagements you may enter into.'

'That is true,' answered sir Thomas: 'now suppose I consent to all you have asked, I will not that the town be pillaged, under pretence of its wealth having been gained from the adjacent country, for that would cause riots between your men and ours.' 'Oh no,' said the bastard: 'we

will only carry away what is our own: but, if any of our men shall have taken or bought any thing without paying, we will not enter into any dispute on that account. With regard to provisions, I do not believe our men have paid one penny since they have been here in garrison.'

'As for that,' replied the marshal, 'it is nothing: it is an advantage our men will take as well as yours: but I speak of moveables.' 'Sir,'

answered

answered the bastard d'Aulroy, 'we have not our men under such command but that some will transgress.' Sir John Holland now interfered, and said,—'Let them pass: what they have got belongs to them: we shall not be so strict as to search their trunks.' 'Be it so, then,' said the marshal.

Every thing was now settled, and they were to march away on the morrow. The English returned to their quarters to disarm, and refresh themselves with what they had brought. The Bretons employed the whole day in packing up the great plunder they had made even from Castille, for the king had abandoned the whole country to them, which enriched prodigiously the first comers. While thus employed, they seized from the inhabitants of Orense whatever they could conveniently lay their hands on, such as furs, cloth and jewels; and when the poor people said, 'Gentlemen, this belongs to us; you did not bring it hither;' they answered,—'Hold your tongues, ye wicked people: we have a commission from the king of Castille to pay ourselves wherever we go, and, as you refused to do so, we are forced to provide for ourselves. We have served you faithfully and valiantly: you are therefore bound to increase our pay, and it is thus we take it.'

The next morning the marshal mounted his horse, and, attended by about sixty lances, rode to the barriers of Orense, where he waited a while for the Bretons. When they came, he asked, 'Are you all ready?' 'Yes,' they re-

plied: 'give us our passport and escort.' 'Whither do you wish to go?' 'To Vilalpando.' 'It is well,' replied the marshal: 'here is your escort:' and, calling to him an English knight whose name was Stephen Eastbury, said, 'Take ten of our lances, to escort these Bretons, and return to-morrow.' He obeyed the marshal's orders, and the Bretons marched away well packed and heavily laden.

When they were all gone, the marshal and his men entered the town, where he was received with the greatest respect; for they took him for the duke of Lancaster, which was the reason of their humility. He asked some of the townsmen.—'These Bretons, who are gone away so heavily laden, have they carried off any of your properties?' 'Of ours, my lord! yes, by God, a great deal.' 'And why did you not complain to me? I would have made them restore it.' 'My lord, we were afraid; for they threatened to murder us, if we said one word: they are a cursed race, for there is not one but is a thief; and how can we complain when they rob one another?' The marshal laughed, and, having paused, demanded the principal persons of the town. When they arrived, he made them swear to preserve the town of Orense in obedience to the duke and duchess of Lancaster in like manner to other towns in Galicia: which being done, he renewed the officers of the town, who took similar oaths. All being finished, he and his company drank some wine and returned to the duke of Lancaster, who was reposing under  
the

the shade of the olive-trees; for, it was so very hot, neither man nor horse could withstand the heat of the sun, and after eight o'clock it was impossible to go abroad to forage. The greatest pleasure the duke could have received would have been the information, that the king of Castille was on his march to offer him battle; for he was well aware he could never otherwise succeed in his claim on that kingdom. He was continually making inquiries how the king of Castille was employed, and he was answered,—‘My lord, we learn from the pilgrims who come to Sant Jago, that he is not making any preparations to take the field, but has shut himself and his men up in garrisons. The duke of Bourbon is not yet arrived, nor is there any intelligence received of his coming.’

The duke was advised to remain but five days in Orense, and then march to Zamora, and endeavour to force a passage over the Duero by the bridge. The knight, on his return from escorting the Bretons to Vilalpando, was asked what were the numbers in garrison: he said, ‘he had heard sir Oliver du Guesclin was there with one thousand spears, French and Bretons.’ ‘It will be a good thing, my lord,’ said the constable and sir Thomas Percy, ‘if we go thither and skirmish with them. Perhaps they may come out, and accept our challenge, for some of them are very impatient to signalize themselves.’ ‘I agree to it,’ replied the duke; ‘let us dislodge and march hence, for we can gain nothing by staying longer here.’ Orders for decampment on

the

the morrow were issued, and for the army to march towards Vilalpando, and then to Zamora.

We will now say something of the king of Portugal, and what befel him on his entrance into Castille to form a junction with the duke of Lancaſter.

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## CHAP. XLIII.

**THE KING OF PORTUGAL, BEING REPULSED IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO STORM THE CASTLES OF SANTAREN, BURNS THE TOWN.—HE MARCHES TO FERROL IN GALICIA.**

**T**HE king of Portugal, on his departure from Oporto, left his queen, his ſiſter-in-law and the city under the guard of the count de Novaire, with one hundred lances, of Portuguese and Gaſcons who had come to ſerve him. When the king took the field, he halted the firſt day at the diſtance of only three leagues from Oporto. On the morrow, he diſlodged, and marched in three battalions; but, on account of the infantry, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand men, and the baggage, he could but advance at a foot's pace. The main battalion with the king followed, which was a thouſand good ſpears, and in it were don Galois, Fernando Portelet, John Fernando Portelet, Galopes Fernando Portelet and Pounafs d'Acunha, ſir Vaſco Martin d'Acunha, who bore the king's banner, John Radighos, Peter John Gomez de Salnez,

John

John Radighos de Sar, and the master of Avis, Fernando Radighos, all great barons.

The constable of Portugal commanded the rear battalion, consisting of five hundred spears; with him were the count d'Angoufe, the count de l'Escalle, le petit Danede, Mondest Radighos, Roderigo de Valconfiaux, Ange Salvese de Geneve, John Ansale de Popelan, all barons and knights.

In this manner did the Portuguese continue their march towards Santaren. They advanced by short marches, and halted every third day: they also lay by the greater part of the day. They arrived at Aljubarota, where they halted for two days, and took as many in going from thence to Ourem. At last they came to Santaren, and quartered themselves therein; for they found the town had been abandoned since the battle of Aljubarota, for fear of the Portuguese, and the inhabitants had retired with their effects into Castille. The castles, however, were well garrisoned with Bretons and Poitevins, who had been sent thither for their defence.

The king of Portugal was advised to attack these castles, which were situated at each end of the town; for he could not, in honour, pass by, without attempting some deeds of arms: besides, as the Castillians had conquered this place from the Portuguese, they wished to try if they could recover them. They had brought machines of war from Oporto, for they knew they should have need of them on their march. The king and his army were quartered in and about San-

taren,

taren, which is situated at the entrance of Castille, on the Tagus. By means of this river, they could have all their provision and stores conveyed to them from Lisbon or Opôrto, of which they took the advantage; for they were upwards of thirty thousand men.

The constable, with his division and one half of the commonalty of Portugal, posted himself opposite the eastern castle, called la Perrade. The marshal with his battalion, and the other half of the commonalty, did the same at the opposite castle, called Callidon.

Morice Fonchans, an able man at arms, and a knight from Brittany, commanded in la Perrade; and sir James de Mont-merle, a knight from Poitou, in Callidon. They might each have with him fifty lances. Fifteen days passed without any thing being done: their machines were, indeed, pointed against the walls, and cast heavy stones ten or twelve times a day, but did little damage, except to the roofs of the towers, which they ruined; but the garrisons paid no attention to this, for their lodgings were well arched: and no engine nor springall could hurt them with any stones they could throw.

When the Portuguese saw they had no hopes of success, they grew tired, and resolved to de-camp and enter Galicia, to join the duke of Lancaster, which would increase their strength, and the king and duke might then advise together, whither to march. When they departed from Santaren, they so completely burnt the town, that there did not remain a shed to put a horse

horse in. The garrisons, seeing them depart, were so much rejoiced, that they sounded their trumpets, and, with other signs of joy, continued playing until the whole were out of hearing. The army marched that day for Pontferrent, in Galicia, in their route to Val-Sainte-Catharine, and arrived at Ferrol, which is a tolerably strong town, and in the interest of the king of Castille, and they halted before it.

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#### CHAP. XLIV.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL, NOT BEING ABLE TO TAKE FERROL BY STORM, GAINS IT BY AN AMBUSCADE, AND PUTS IT UNDER THE OBEDIENCE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

THE king of Portugal and his army found a plentiful country at Ferrol, which they surrounded; and the constable and marshal said, they would storm it, as it was to be taken. They were two days, however, without making any attempt, for they expected that it would surrender without an assault, but they were mistaken; for there were in it some Bretons and Burgundians, who said they would defend it to the last. The machines were brought forth on the third day, and the marshal's trumpets sounded for the attack, when all made themselves ready, and advanced to the walls. The men at arms in Ferrol, hearing the trumpets, knew they should be stormed, and made preparations accordingly.

cordingly. They armed themselves, and all men capable of defence, and ordered the women to gather and bring to them stones, to throw down on the enemy. You must know, that the women in Galicia and Castille are of good courage to defend themselves, and equally useful as the men.

The Portuguese marched in handsome array to the ditches, which, though deep, were dry, and merrily entered them. They began to ascend the opposite bank, with much courage, but were sorely treated, unless well shielded, by those of the town, who, from the walls, cast down on them stones and other things, that wounded and killed several, and forced them to retreat whether they would or not. There was much throwing of darts on both sides; and thus lasted the attack until eight o'clock, when the day became exceedingly hot, without wind or breeze, insomuch, that those in the ditches thought they should be burnt: this heat was so excessive, that the attack was put an end to, though the machines cast stones into the town, merely for the chance of success. The Portuguese retired to refresh themselves, and attend to the wounded. The marshal resolved not to renew the attack but by his machines, for otherwise it would cost too many lives; and to skirmish at the barriers, to amuse the young knights, and enure them to deeds of arms. This being settled, there were, almost daily, skirmishes at the barriers; and these within the town were accustomed to post themselves without the gates, between them and the barriers, the better to engage their enemies!

Sir

Sir Alvarez Pereira, the marshal of Portugal, who was subtle, and had been long used to arms, observing this conduct, planned upon it an ambuscade. Opening himself to don Juan Fernando, he said,—‘ I see these foldiers, when skirmishing, sometimes venture beyond the gates: I have formed a plan, which, if you will assist me to execute, I think we may discomfit them. I propose that we form an ambuscade, as near the barriers as possible, of five or six hundred men, well mounted, and then commence a skirmish, as usual, but in no great number; and retreat, by degrees, the moment they seem willing to pass their barriers, which I think their avarice and eagerness will induce them to do. We must then turn about and attack them lustily, and the ambuscade will gallop between them and the gates. The garrison will now be alarmed, and hasten to order the gates to be opened, and whether they will or not, we shall enter the place with them. But should the townsmen refuse to open the gates, all those who are without must be our prisoners.’ ‘ It is well imagined,’ replied don Juan. ‘ Well said the marshal, ‘ do you command one party, and I will take the other. You, sir Martin de Mello, and Ponasse d’Acunha, shall have the ambuscade, and I will skirmish, as that is part of my office.’

This plan was adopted, and five hundred men, well armed and mounted, were chosen to form the ambuscade. For three days, there had not been any skirmishing, to the surprise of the garrison, who said to the inhabitants; ‘ See, wicked  
people

people as ye are, ye wanted to surrender to the king of Portugal without striking a blow, and would have done so, if we had not been here to defend the honour of your town: this we have so successfully done, that the king of Portugal is on the eve of his departure, without having effected any thing.'

On the fourth day, according to what had been laid down, the marshal advanced to the skirmish with but few followers: the great ambuscade remained behind. The Bretons, eager to make rich prisoners, having already captured six, seeing the Portuguese at the barriers, had the gates opened, which they left unfastened, in case of failure (for they had no great dependance on the townsmen), and the wicket wide open, and sallied forth to skirmish with darts and lances, as is usual in such combats. The marshal, when he saw the time was come, made his men wheel, and act as if they were tired, retreating by degrees. Those within the place, observing this, and thinking they should make prisoners of them all, opened the whole of the barriers, sallied forth, and, falling on the Portuguese, captured five and twenty. In the struggle and pursuit, the Bretons never thought of closing the barriers; and the marshal now made his signal for the ambuscade to advance, which it did full gallop, and, by getting between the Bretons and the place, made themselves masters of the barriers. The French and Bretons now hastened to re-enter the gates, but it was of no avail, for the Portuguese entered with them; and thus was the town won.

Very

Very few were slain, and the soldiers in garrison were made prisoners, except ten or twelve, who escaped by a postern gate and went to Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin was in garrison, with one thousand French lances at least, and these runaways related to him how Ferrol had been lost. In this manner was the town won by the Portuguese, and put under the obedience of the duke of Lancaster, for whom they made war. The king of Portugal was much pleased at the success of his men, and instantly sent intelligence of it to the duke, adding, he had greatly increased his inheritance by the capture of a town; and that he and his army were desirous and active to conquer the rest.

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#### CHAP. XLV.

THE ARMY OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER COMES BEFORE NOYA IN GALICIA.—THE ENGLISH ARE RECEIVED, AT THE BARRIERS, BY BARROIS DES BARRES AND HIS COMPANIONS.

**T**HE duke of Lancaster was much rejoiced at the news from the king of Portugal: he had left Orense, and was on his march towards Noya, where le Barrois des Barres, sir John de Châtelmorant, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir Reginald de Roye, sir William de Montigny, and many other knights and squires were in garrison.

When the duke came within sight of the castle, the marshal said,—‘ There is Noya: if Corunna

be

be one of the keys of Galicia towards the sea, the castle of Noya is another towards Castille; and whoever wishes to be lord of Castille must be master of these two places. Let us march thither, for they tell me that Barrois des Barres, one of the ablest captains of France, is within it, and let us have some skirmishing with the garrison at the end of the bridge.' 'We are willing to do so,' said sir Maubrun de Linieres and sir John d'Ambreticourt, who were riding by his side.

The van battalion now advanced, consisting of five hundred men at arms, for the duke was desirous of making a good appearance to those within the castle; and he knew also that his marshals would offer to skirmish, should they find any to accept their challenge. The watch on the castle, seeing the van of the English approach, began to sound his horn so agreeably, it was a pleasure to hear him.

Le Barrois and his companions, to the amount of one hundred men at arms, hearing that the English were at hand, armed themselves, and, in good array, advanced to the barriers, where they drew up under twelve pennons. Sir John des Barres, being the most renowned, was the commander in chief, and next to him, sir John de Châtelmorant. When sir Thomas Moreaux, the marshal of the army, found himself near the place, he halted, and, having dismounted as well as his companions, they gave their horses to the pages and servants, and marched in a compact body, each knight and squire with his spear in hand, towards the barriers: every six paces they halted,  
to

to dress themselves without opening their ranks. To say the truth, it was a beautiful fight.

When they were come as far as they wished, they halted for a short time, and then advanced their front to begin the action. They were gallantly received; and, I believe, had the two parties been in the plain, many more bold actions would have taken place than it was possible to find an opportunity for where they were; for the barriers being closely shut, prevented them from touching each other.

The marshal hit sir John de Châtelmorant with his lance, as did sir John the marshal; for each was eager to hurt the other, but, from the strength of their armour, they could not. Sir Thomas Percy attacked Barrois des Barres; Maubrun de Linieres, sir William de Montigny; sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Reginald de Roye; the lord Talbot, sir Tristan de la Jaille: so every man had his match; and when they were fatigued or heated they retired, and other fresh knights and squires renewed the skirmish. This was continued until past eight o'clock: indeed, it was twelve before it was entirely over. The archers next came to the barriers; but the knights withdrew, for fear of the arrows, and ordered their cross-bows and Castillians to oppose them, which they did until noon, when the lusty varlets continued the skirmish until sun-set, and the knights then returned fresh and vigorous to renew it.

Thus was the day employed until night, when the English retired to their quarters, and the knights

knights into the castle, where they kept a good guard. The English were quartered about half a league from Noya, on the banks of the river, which was very welcome to them and their horses, for they had great difficulty in procuring water on their march. They intended to remain there five or six days, and then march to Vilalpando, and look at the constable of Castille and the French there in garrison. They had also heard from the king of Portugal, who was encamped in the plains of Ferrol, and intended marching for the town of Padron\* in Galicia, which was in the line of march of the English; and I believe the king and duke were to meet in this town, to confer together on the state of affairs, and determine on a plan for carrying on the war. They had already been one month in the enemy's country, and had conquered all Galicia, except one or two places, without having any intelligence of the king of Castille or the French, which greatly surprised them; for they had heard that the king of Castille had issued his summons from Burgos, where he resided, to all parts of Castille, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, Léon, Validolid, Soria, and had collected sixty thousand men, not including six thousand men at arms from France. The duke of Bourbon was likewise daily expected, for he had quitted Paris.

It was for this reason the English and Portuguese

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\*Padron is situated on the river Ulla, four leagues to the southward of Sant Jago: it was formerly a bishoprick, but is now transferred to Sant Jago.

wanted to unite their armies, to be in greater force, and better enabled to meet the enemy ; for they believed all that had been told them respecting the French and Castillians as true, and outwardly shewed much joy thereat. They would willingly have encountered their enemies, for they were convinced they could never bring their dispute to any decision without a battle.

Sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were always about the king's person, and accompanied him wherever he went ; for they had two or three times a week intelligence from France of what was going on, and likewise from the duke of Bourbon. They were waiting for him, as he had begun his journey, by way of Avignon, to visit the pope and cardinals ; and would not therefore offer combat during his absence, nor would it have been becoming them so to do. Among the news they had from France, the most surprising was the account of the duke of Brittany's arrest and confinement of the constable in the castle of Ermine, until he ransomed himself, by paying down one hundred thousand francs and the surrender of three castles and a town, by which the intended invasion of England was prevented. They were greatly astonished, and could not imagine what the duke of Brittany meant by it : they, however, supposed that he must have been instigated thereto by the council of England.

## CHAP. XLVI.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS SOME OF HIS NOBLES TO DEMAND FROM THE DUKE OF BRITTANY THE REASON OF THE INSULT OFFERED TO HIM IN THE PERSON OF HIS CONSTABLE, SIR OLIVER DE CLISSON.

THE court of France, more particularly the king's uncles, and the principal lords, were much distressed by the defiance that was sent by the duke of Gueldres; for it was outrageous and rude, and not in the common stile of such challenges, as I shall explain when I mention the particulars. They were likewise much vexed at the late conduct of the duke of Brittany, which had broken up the expedition to England by the imprisonment of its leader. This had been greatly prejudicial to the king, nor could they discover any cause he had to assign for such conduct. The king did not pay such attention to these matters, which, considering his youth, was not to be wondered at, as if he had been of more advanced years; for some of the old lords, who remembered former times, said, 'that by a similar act the kingdom had been much agitated, when the king of Navarre assassinated sir Charles d'Espaign, who at the time was constable of France, for which king John could never afterwards bear the king of Navarre, and

and had deprived him, as far as he was able, of all his possessions in Normandy.' 'Do you suppose,' said others, 'that if king Charles, the father of our king, were now alive, who loved so much the constable, he would not have made the duke pay severely for this insult? By my faith would he, and instantly have declared war against him, and, cost what it would, have driven him out of his duchy.'

Thus was the matter discussed through France, where all agreed that he had acted very ill. The king and his uncles, to pacify the people, who were much dissatisfied, and to inquire into the grounds of this business, resolved to send a prelate, and three able and prudent barons, to hear the duke's reasons, and to summon him to Paris, or wherever else the king might please, to make proper excuses for his conduct. Sir Milon de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, was nominated as principal: he was a most able man, of great eloquence, and was to be accompanied by sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil and the lord de la Riviere, who had received full instructions what they were to say; but to be the more particularly informed of what had passed, the bishop of Beauvais went to Montlehery, the residence of the constable, to learn from him the most minute details. This town and castle, with its dependancies, had been given to him and to his heirs by king Charles. The bishop, during this visit, was seized with an illness that forced him to keep his bed, and, after fifteen days struggle against the fever, it carried him off, so very severe was the attack. The bishop of Langres  
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was nominated in the place of the bishop of Beauvais, who set out, with the before mentioned barons, for Brittany.

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## CHAP. XLVII.

PROISSART MENTIONS THE PERSON FROM WHOM HE LEARNT THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON; WHO LIKEWISE INFORMS HIM THAT SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN OUGHT TO BE CALLED DU GLAY-AQUIN.

**I** MAY, perhaps, be asked, how I became acquainted with the events in this history, to speak so circumstantially about them. I reply to those who shall do so, that I have, with great attention and diligence, sought in divers kingdoms and countries for the facts which have been, or may hereafter be mentioned in it: for God has given me grace and opportunities to see, and make acquaintance with the greater part of the principal lords of France and England. It should be known, that in the year 1390, I had laboured at this history thirty-seven years, and at that time I was fifty-seven years old: a man may, therefore, learn much in such a period, when he is in his vigour, and well received by all parties. During my youth, I was five years attached to the king and queen of England, and kindly entertained in the household of king

king John of France and king Charles his son. I was, in consequence, enabled to hear much during those times; and, for certain, the greatest pleasure I have ever had, was to make every possible inquiry, in regard to what was passing in the world, and then to write down all that I had learnt.

I will now say from whence I heard of the arrest of the constable, and the consequences that followed. I was riding about the time this passed, or perhaps a year after, from Angers to Tours, and had slept at Beaufort en Vallée.\* On the morrow I overtook a knight from Brittany, called sir William d'Ancenis, who was going to visit madame de Maille in Touraine, who was his cousin, as she had lately become a widow. I made acquaintance with the knight, for he was courteous and obliging in speech, and inquired the news from him; more particularly about the imprisonment of the constable, the truth of which I was eager to know. He gave me the information I wanted; for he said he had been at the parliament at Vannes, with his cousin the lord d'Ancenis, a powerful baron in Brittany. In the same manner as sir Espaign du Lyon told me all that passed in Foix, Béarn and Gascony, and as don Juan Fernando Portelet the events in Castille and Portugal, did the gallant knight converse with me, and would have continued it longer, had I rode farther in his company.

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\* Beaufort en Vallée,—or Beaufort la Ville, a town of Anjou, on the river Authion, six leagues from Angers, sixteen from Tours.

We had advanced four long leagues between Montlihargne and Preuilly, riding at a gentle pace, when he told me many things on the road, respecting Brittany, which I treasured up in my memory. As we were thus riding, we entered a meadow near to Preuilly, when he dismounted, and said,—‘Ah, may God keep the soul of the good constable of France; for he had, on this spot, a most honourable combat, and greatly profitable to the country; but he was not then constable, and served under the banner of sir John de Bueil, on his return from the expedition into Spain.’ ‘Pray have the goodness to relate it to me.’ ‘I will,’ said he; ‘but let us remount our horses.’ We did so, and, continuing our journey, he thus began:

‘In the time I am speaking of, this country was quite filled with English, and thieves from Gascony, Brittany, Germany: adventurers from all nations had fixed their quarters on both sides of the Loire, for the war between England and France was renewed. A party of them had fortified themselves in the castle of Beaufort en Vallée; which you have seen, and supported themselves by plundering the country all round it. But to come to the immediate object of my story: some English and Gascons had possessed themselves of Preuilly, and strengthened it so much, that none attempted to dislodge them: they had also some other smaller forts near; and when they made any excursions, they could assemble between eight hundred and a thousand combatants.

‘The constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir  
John

John de Bueil, the lord de Mailly, and other knights, determined to deliver the country from these people, and collected about five hundred spears. They learnt that the English intended marching towards Saumer; that all the captains of the different forts were to unite their forces; and that the place of meeting was Preuilly, which you see before us. Our men, having crossed the river, placed themselves in ambuscade, in the wood below us, on the right hand. The enemy left Preuilly at sun-rise, to the amount of nine hundred fighting men: and when our party in ambush saw them advancing, they knew a combat to be inevitable. They held a council on what should be their cry, and were desirous it should be, 'Sir Bertrand!' but he would not consent, and declared he would not display either banner or pennon, but be under that of sir John de Bueil. Our enemies entered the mead, where we just now dismounted, and they had scarcely done so before our men sallied out of their ambush to meet them. On seeing us, being of good courage, they drew themselves up in handsome order. We did the same, and both parties advanced to the combat, which instantly commenced with such thrusting of lances that many were thrown down on each side. It lasted a considerable time without either giving way; but, to say the truth, we were all picked men, and with the enemy were numbers badly armed and plunderers. They gave us, however, full employment; but sir Morice Trifequedy, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Geoffry Kerimel and Morfonace, joining sir  
 Bertrand

Bertrand du Guefclin, full gallop, reinforced us with fixty good spears, whom they brought with them, and, attacking the English on horseback, threw them into a confusion they never could recover.

‘The leaders of these pillagers, perceiving the event was likely to turn out unfavourable to them, mounted their horses, but not all; for seven lay dead on the field, with three hundred of their men. The pursuit lasted as far as St. Maur, where sir Robert Cheney, Robert Hervey, Richard Giles and James Clerk got into a boat, and saved themselves by crossing the Loire. They made for four castles the English had on that side the river, wherein they did not long remain, but hastened for Auvergne and Limoufin, as they fancied the constable was still at their heels.

‘By this defeat, my good master, was all this country delivered from pillagers, and never since that time have any English or others established themselves here. I therefore say, that constable Bertrand was a gallant man, and of great honour and advantage to France, for he regained large tracts of territory from her enemies.’ ‘By my faith, sir, you say truly: he was indeed a very valiant man, and so is sir Oliver du Guefclin.’ On my naming him du Guefclin, the knight laughed; and I said, ‘Sir, what do you laugh at?’ ‘Because you call him du Guefclin, which is not his proper name, nor ever was, although he is generally so called, even by us who come from Brittany. Sir Bertrand was during his lifetime desirous to alter this, but could not; for this word is more naturally pronounced than the one he wished

wished to substitute for it.' 'Pray, sir' said I, 'have the kindness to tell me if there be any great difference between them.' 'No, God help me: the only difference is Glay-aquin instead of Glesquin, or Guesclin. I will tell you whence this surname is derived, according to what I have heard the old people in Brittany say, and it is certainly true, for you may find it written in the old chronicles of Brittany.' This speech gave me great pleasure, and I replied.—'Sir, I shall think myself much obliged by your so doing; and what you say shall not be forgotten, for sir Bertrand du Guesclin was so renowned a knight that his reputation ought to be augmented by every possible means.' 'That is true,' said the knight, and thus began:

'In the reign of Charlemagne, that great conqueror, who added so much to Christendom and France; for he was emperor of Rome as well as king of France and Germany; and whose body lies now at Aix la Chapelle. This king Charles, as is seen in the ancient chronicles (for you know that all the knowledge we possess in this world we owe to writing, and upon no other foundation can we depend for truth but on what is contained in approved books), was several times in Spain, where he once remained for nine years without returning to France, but conquering all before him. At this time there was a pagan king, called Aquin, who reigned over Bugia and Barbary, that lie opposite to Spain. The kingdom of Spain was very considerable, if you follow its coasts from St. Jean du Pied des Ports, for it  
then

then contained all Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Oporto, Coimbra, Lisbon, Seville, Cordova, Toledo and Léon, and these formerly were conquered by this great king. During his long residence in Spain, Aquin, king of Bugia and Barbary, assembled an army and embarked for Brittany, where he landed at the port of Vannes. He brought his wife and children with him, and, having established himself and his army in the country, proceeded to make further conquests. King Charles was duly informed of what was passing in Brittany; but he would not let it interfere with his present undertaking, saying, 'Let him establish himself in Brittany: it will not be difficult for us to free the country from him and his people; but we will first complete the conquest of this country, and submit it to the Christian faith.'

'This king, Aquin, built a handsome tower on the sea-shore near to Vannes, called the Glay, wherein he took pleasure to reside. When Charlemagne had accomplished his expedition to Spain by the delivery of Galicia and other provinces from the Saracens, whose kings he had slain, and, by driving out the infidels, had brought the whole kingdom under the Christian faith; he sailed for Brittany, and gave battle to king Aquin and his adherents, with such success that the greater part of the infidels were killed and king Aquin forced to fly, in a vessel that lay ready prepared for him at the foot of the tower of Glay. He was so hard pressed by the French, he could only embark himself, his wife and some of his family, and in  
the

the hurry forgot a young child, of about a year old, that was asleep in the tower. The king having escaped, this child was brought to Charlemagne, who was much pleased with him, and had him baptised. Roland and Oliver were his godfathers at the font, and the emperor gave him handsome presents and the lands his father had won in Brittany. This child, when grown up, was a valiant knight, and called Oliver du Glay-aquin, because he had been found in the tower of Glay, and was the son of king Aquin.

‘ Such was the foundation of the family of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, which, as you see, ought to be called du Glay-aquin. Sir Bertrand was used to say, that when he should have expelled don Pedro from Spain and crowned don Henry de Transtamare, he would go to Bugia, as he should have only the sea to cross, and demand his inheritance, and would undoubtedly have executed it; for don Henry would gladly have supplied him with men and ships; but the prince of Wales, by bringing back and replacing don Pedro on the throne of Castille, put an end to it. Sir Bertrand was made prisoner by sir John Chandos, at the famous battle of Najara, and ransomed for one hundred thousand francs. He had been before ransomed by the same knight, and for the like sum, at the battle of Auray. The renewal of the war between England and France put an effectual stop to this African expedition, and gave him so much employment that he could not attend to any thing else. He was,

who

who reigned over Bugia and Barbary. Thus have I traced to you the descent of fir Bertrand du Guesclin.' 'That is true,' replied I, 'and I am very thankful to you for it, which I will not forget.' As I said this, we arrived at Preuilly\*.

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## CHAP. XLVIII.

AMBASSADORS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WAIT ON THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RESPECTING THE ARREST OF HIS CONSTABLE.—THE DUKE, HAVING HEARD THEM, GIVES THEM HIS ANSWER.

**I**F I could have been as long with fir William d'Ancenis as I was with fir Espaign du Lyon, when we travelled together from Pamiers to Orthès in Béarn, or with fir Juan Fernando Portelet, he would have told me many interesting things: but it could not be; for, soon after din-

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\* The high reputation of Bertrand du Guesclin gave rise to many false reports of his origin: the above is one. To detect this, it is only necessary to state, 1st, There never was a prince in Brittany of the name of Aquin.—2dly, Charlemagne conquered that province by his lieutenants, and was never there in person.—3dly, That the original name of the house of du Guesclin was not Glay-aquin, but Guarplie, a compound of two Breton words, Gwar and Plie, which signifies a creek, and describes the situation of the old castle du Guarplie, that was built on a creek, or gulph, in Concale bay, in parish of Saint Coulomb, diocese of Dôl.

or further particulars, see l'histoire de la Bretagne.

ner, we came to two roads; one leading to Tours, whither I was bound, and the other to Mailly, which he was to follow. Here then we took leave of each other, and separated; but on our road from Preuilly, before our separation, he told me many things about the bishop of Langres, who had succeeded the bishop of Beauvis in the embassy to the duke of Brittany with sir John de Beuil, and the answer they received from the duke. Upon the authority of what the knight said, I have written as follows.

The ambassadors, having taken leave of the king and council, continued their journey until they came to Nantes, where they inquired the residence of the duke. They were told, that he chiefly resided at or near Vannes in preference to any other place. They left Nantes, and did not stop until they arrived at Vannes, as it is only twenty leagues distant, and dismounted in the town, for the duke lived in the castle called la Motte. When they had equipped themselves in a manner becoming their rank, they waited on him, who received them outwardly with much affection.

The bishop of Langres, being a prelate, was the spokesman, and harangued in a handsome manner, in the presence of his two companions, sir John de Vienne and sir John de Beuil, saying,—‘ Lord duke, we are sent hither by the king our sovereign, and by my lords his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to say they are wondrously surprised you should have prevented the invasion of England from taking place,  
when

when on the point of failing, and have ransomed the constable of France for such an immense sum, besides seizing three of his castles in Brittany and the town of Jugon\*, which, should they turn against the country, may seriously injure it. We are therefore charged to order you, on the part of our sovereign lord the king, and of our lords his uncles, to restore to sir Oliver de Clifton, constable of France, those parts of his inheritance you now withhold from him, and give him peaceable possession thereof, according to justice, in the same condition they were in before they were surrendered up to you through constraint, and not according to any just claim you had upon them, and also the sum of money you have received, wholly and fully, wherever he shall be pleased to have it paid. The king and his council likewise summon you to appear at Paris, or wherever else they may direct, to excuse yourself for what you have done. The king is so good tempered and forbearing that, from ties of blood, he will readily listen to your excuses. Should they not be quite satisfactory, our lords, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, will so fashion them to the utmost of their abilities, and by entreaties or otherwise manage the matter so that you shall remain friend and cousin to the king, as it is reasonable you should be.'

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\* Jugon must have been of considerable consequence, for I believe there is an old proverb,

' Qui a Bretagne sans Jugon  
A un chappe sans chaperon.'

The bishop, turning to sir John de Vienne, said, 'Do you agree in my sentiments?' 'Yes, sir,' he replied. Sir John de Bueil made a similar answer: when this passed, there were but these four in the apartment.

The duke, having heard the bishop, was very thoughtful, and not without reason, for the words were so clear they required no expounding. At length he said,—'Sir, I have well heard what you had to say: it was proper I should do so, as you come from my sovereign lord the king of France, and my lords his uncles. I am therefore bounden to pay you, as coming from them, every honour and respect, and am willing to do so. What you have said, however, demands consideration; and I shall take the advice of my council, that I may give you such an answer as may please you, for I would not act otherwise.'

'You say well,' replied the ambassadors, 'and we are satisfied.' They then took leave, and returned to their hôtel. Towards evening, they received an invitation from the duke to dine with him on the morrow, which they accepted. The next day they went to the castle, where they found the duke and his knights, who received them magnificently. Shortly after their arrival, basons and ewers were brought, for them to wash before they sat down to table. The bishop of Langres, in respect to his prelacy, was seated above all the company: next to him was the duke, then sir John de Vienne and sir John de Bueil. The dinner was very splendid, sumptuous, and well served: when it was over, they retired into the presence chamber,

ber, where they conversed on different subjects, and amused themselves in hearing the minstrels.

The lords from France thought they should have then received their answer, but were disappointed. Wine and spices were brought, which having partaken of, they retired to their hôtels, and remained the whole evening comfortably at home. On the ensuing morning, it was signified to them that the duke wished to see them at the castle, whither they went; and, being introduced to the apartment where the duke was, he received them kindly, and thus spoke: 'My fair sir, I know you are anxious for an answer to what you have been charged to tell me from my sovereign and other lords, that you may report it to them: I therefore declare, that I have done nothing to sir Oliver de Clifton that I repent of, except that he has escaped too cheaply and with his life: this I spared solely on account of his office, and not in any manner out of personal regard; for he has behaved so very ill to me, in several instances, that I hate him mortally; and, begging my sovereign's and their graces pardon, I have not prevented the expedition to England taking place by the arrest of the constable. Of this I am able and willing to exculpate myself; for the day I had him arrested, I was thinking no harm against it\*: it is proper to take advantage of an enemy wherever it may be found. If he had been slain, I believe the kingdom of France would not

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\* The original runs, "nul mal je n'y pensoye."

have been the worse governed for having lost the supposed benefit of his council. With regard to the castles he surrendered to me; and of which I am in possession, I shall keep them until the king by force dispossesses me of them. As to the money, I reply, that from the hatred of sir Oliver de Clifton, I have incurred debts in this and other countries, and have, from this sum, repaid those to whom I was indebted.'

Such was the answer the duke of Brittany gave to the ambassadors from the king of France. Many debates ensued, to induce the duke to send a more moderate answer; but his replies were always to the same effect as what he had before spoken. When they found they could not obtain any thing more, they desired to take their leave, which being granted, they prepared for their departure, and journeyed until they arrived at Paris, thence they went to the castle of Beauté, near Vincennes, where the king and queen resided. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy soon followed them, as they were impatient to hear the duke of Brittany's answer, which as you have heard, I will not repeat. But as those sent into Brittany had not succeeded in any one point, the king and council were greatly displeased with the duke, and said he was the proudest and most presumptuous man alive, and that matters should not remain as they were; for the consequences would be too prejudicial and disgraceful to the crown of France. It was fully the intention of the king

and his council to make war on the duke of Brittany.

The duke expected nothing less; for he knew he had angered the king of France, as well as those of his council: but his hatred against the constable was so deep, it deprived him of the use of his reason; and he sorely repented that, when in his power, he had not put him to death. Things remained in this state a considerable time. The duke resided at Vannes, but seldom went abroad for fear of ambuscades: he paid great court to the principal cities and towns in the duchy, and made secret treaties with the English: he also garrisoned his strong places the same as in times of war. His opinion continually varied, as to what had passed: sometimes he said, he wished he had not arrested the constable; at others, to excuse himself, he declared that Clifton had so grievously insulted him, he had good reason for what he had done. This conduct had caused him to be feared in the country: for the lord hath small authority who is not feared by his subjects;\* for whenever he pleases he may be at peace with them.

We will now leave the duke of Brittany, and return to the affairs of England, which, at this moment, were in a troubled and dangerous state.

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\* Car c'est petite seigneurie de seigneur qui n'est craint et douté de ses gens.

## CHAP. XLIX.

THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOCESTER, UNCLES TO THE KING, CONFEDERATE, WITH OTHER BARONS, AGAINST HIM AND HIS COUNCIL.—THE PEOPLE ARE DISCONTENTED WITH THE DUKE OF IRELAND.—THE LONDONERS, THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER AND HIS FRIENDS, OBTAIN, FROM THE KING, THAT A DAY SHOULD BE FIXED FOR THOSE WHO HAD MANAGED THE FINANCES TO RENDER AN ACCOUNT OF THEM.

**Y**OU have before heard, that the dukes of York and Glocester had confederated with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham and the archbishop of Canterbury, against the king and his council, with whom they were very much dissatisfied. They said,—‘ This duke of Ireland doth with the king and the realm as he pleases: the king has only base knaves about his person, without any regard to noblemen; and as long as he attends to no other advice than that of those now near him, things cannot go on well; for no kingdom can prosper when governed by wicked men. It is well known, that when a poor person is exalted and supported by his lord, he corrupts the people, and destroys the country; for what can a base-born man feel of honour: his sole wish is to enrich himself, just like the otter, who, on entering a pond, devours all the fish therein.

Whence comes it that this duke of Ireland hath such power over the king, (we know his origin) and governeth all England at his pleasure, while the king's uncles are disregarded? Such conduct is not longer to be suffered. We are not ignorant who the earl of Oxford was, and that in this country he had not one good quality, either of sense, honour or gentility allowed him.' 'Sir John Chandos, added a knight, 'made him feel this very sharply once, at the palace of the prince of Wales, at St. Andrews, in Bordeaux.' 'How so?' demanded another, who wished to know the particulars. 'I will tell you,' replied the knight, 'for I was present. Wine was serving round to the prince of Wales and a large party of English lords, in an apartment of his palace; and, when the prince had drank, the cup was carried to sir John Chandos, as constable of Aquitaine, who took it and drank, without paying any attention to the earl of Oxford, father to this duke of Ireland, or desiring him to drink first. After sir John Chandos had drank; one of his squires presented the wine to the earl of Oxford; but, indignant that Chandos had drank before him, he refused it, and said, by way of mockery, to the squire who was holding the cup, 'Go, carry it to thy master, Chandos: let him drink.' 'Why should I go to him? for he has drank. Drink yourself, since it is offered you; for, by St. George, if you do not, I will throw it in your face.' The earl, afraid lest the squire should execute what he had said, for he was bold enough to do

do so, took the cup and put it to his mouth and drank, or at least pretended to drink. Sir John Chandos was not far off, and heard and saw the whole, and his squire, whilst the prince was in conversation with others, came and told him what had passed. Sir John Chandos took no notice of it until the prince had retired, when, stepping up to the earl of Oxford, he said; ‘What, sir Aubrey\*, are you displeased that I drank first, who am the constable of this country? I may well drink and take precedence before you, since my most renowned sovereign, the king of England, and my lords, the princes, assent to it. True it is, that you were at the battle of Poitiers; but all now present do not know the cause of it so well as I do: I will declare it, that they may remember it. When my lord, the prince, had finished his journey to Languedoc, Carcassone and Narbonne, and was returned to this city of Bordeaux, you took it into your head that you would return to England; but what did the king say to you? I know it well, though I was not present. He asked, if you had accomplished your service; and, afterward, what you had done with his son. You replied, ‘Sir, I left him in good health at Bordeaux.’ ‘What!’ said the king,

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\* This earl of Oxford’s name was Thomas. Sir Alberic de Vere was his brother. He was employed in different negotiations by Richard II.

Robert was the son and heir of Thomas, the last earl of Oxford, and created duke of Ireland.

See Dugdale’s Baronage.

‘and have you been bold enough to return hither without him? Did I not strictly enjoin you, and the others who accompanied him, never to return without him, under the forfeiture of your lands; and yet you have dared to disobey my commands. I now positively order you to quit my kingdom within four days and return to the prince; for if you be found on the fifth day, you shall lose your life and estates.’ You were afraid to hazard disobedience, as was natural, and left England. You were so fortunate, that you joined the prince four days before the battle of Poitiers, and had, that day, the command of forty lances, while I had sixty. Now, consider if I, who am constable of Aquitaine, have not the right to take precedence, and drink before you do.’

‘The earl of Oxford was much ashamed, and would willingly have been any where but there. He was forced, however, to bear with what sir John Chandos said, who spoke aloud that all might hear him.’ ‘After this,’ said another knight, ‘we ought not to be surprised that the duke of Ireland, who is the son of this earl of Oxford, is not more considerate, and does not keep in his memory what may be told him of his father, instead of ruling the whole kingdom of England, and setting himself above the king’s uncles.’ ‘And why should he not do so,’ replied others, ‘since the king wills it?’

There were great murmurings throughout England against the duke of Ireland; but what injured him the most was his conduct to his  
 duchess

duchefs, the lady Philippa, daughter of the lord de Coucy earl of Bedford, who was a handsome and noble lady, and of the highest extraction. He fell in love with a German lady, one of the attendants of the present queen; and, by his solicitations at the court of Rome, pope Urban VI. granted him a divorce from the lady Philippa, without any title of justice, but through presumption and indifference, when he married this lady. King Richard consented thereto; for he was so blinded by the duke of Ireland that, if he had declared that black was white, the king would not have said to the contrary.

The mother of the duke was mightily enraged with him for this conduct, and took the lord de Coucy's daughter to her home and made her her own companion. The duke certainly acted ill, and evil befel him for it, as this was one of the principal causes of the hatred all England bore him\*. It is but just that what is conceived in

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\* Walsingham, speaking of this transaction, says.—'Accidit his diebus, ut Robertus Vere, elatus de honoribus quos rex impendebat eidem jugiter, suam repudiaret uxorem juvenculam, nobilem, atque pulchram, genitam de illustri Edwardi regis filia Isabella, et aliam duceret, quæ cum regina Anna venerat de Boemia (ut fertur) cujusdam Cellarii filiam, ignobilem prorsus atque foedam: ob quam causam magna surrepsit occasio scandalorum (cujus nomen erat in vulgaria idiomate Lanceerona). Favebat sibi in his omnibus ipse rex, nolens ipsum in aliquo contristare, vel potius (prout dicitur) non valens suis votis aliquo modo obviare, qui maleficiis cujusdam fratris (qui cum dicto Roberto fuit) rex impeditus nequaquam quod bonum est, et honestum cernere, vel sectari valebat.'

evil should have an unfortunate end ; and this duke confided so much in the affection of the king, he thought no one would dare to injure him.

It was reported through England, that a new tax was to be levied on every fire, and that each was to pay a noble, the rich making up for the deficiencies of the poor. The king's uncles knew this would be difficult to bring about; and they had caused it to be spread in the principal towns how greatly the inhabitants would be oppressed by such taxes, and that, as there must remain great sums in the treasury, the people ought to insist on having an account of their expenditure from those who had the management, such as the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, sir Simon Burley, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Peter Gouloufre, sir John Salisbury, sir John Beauchamp and the master of the wool-staple; and, if these would render an honest account, there would be found money enough for the present demands of the kingdom. It is a well-known maxim, that no one pays willingly, or takes money from his purse, if he can avoid it. These rumours were soon spread throughout England, and especially in London, which is the chief key of the realm, so that the people rose in rebellion, to inquire into the government of the country, for that there had not for some time been any thing known concerning it.

The Londoners first addressed themselves to Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, though he was younger than the duke of York; for he

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was much beloved for his valour, prudence and steadiness in business. When they were in his presence, they said,—‘ My lord, the good city of London recommends itself to your care; and its citizens, as well as all England, entreat you would take upon you the government of the realm, and learn from those who have possessed themselves of the kingdom how it has been hitherto governed; for the common people make bitter complaints, that taxes upon taxes are continually imposed, and that the kingdom, since the coronation of the king, has been more grievously oppressed, by these and other extraordinary aids, than for fifty years preceding it. No one knows how these sums have been expended, nor what is become of them. You will be pleased to inquire into this, and provide a remedy, or things will turn out ill, for the discontents of the people are very strong.’

The duke of Gloucester replied,—‘ My good sirs, I have attentively listened to what you have said; but I alone can do nothing. I know you have well-founded cause of complaint, as well as the rest of England; but notwithstanding I am son to a king of England, and uncle to the present king, if I were to interfere by speaking to him, he would not attend to me; for my nephew has counsellors near his person in whom he confides more than in himself, and these counsellors lead him as they please. If you wish to succeed in having your grievances redressed, you should enter into a confederacy with the principal towns, and with some of the nobles and prelates, and come before the king,  
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where my brother and myself will cheerfully meet you, and say to the king.—‘ Most dear lord, you have been crowned when very young, and have hitherto been very badly advised, nor have you attended to the affairs of your kingdom, from the mean and weak counsellors you have chosen. This has caused the mismanagement of affairs, as you must have seen; and if God, out of his mercy, had not stretched forth his hand, the country must inevitably have been ruined. For which, most redoubted lord, we supplicate you, in the presence of your uncles, as good subjects should entreat their lord, that you attend to these matters, that the noble kingdom and crown of England, which has descended to you from the most powerful and gallant king this country ever possessed, may be supported in prosperity and honour, and the common people, who now complain, be maintained in their just rights and privileges. This you swore to perform on the day of your coronation. We also entreat that you would assemble the three estates of the realm, that they may examine into the late manner of your government. Should it have been managed in a manner becoming a person of your rank, those who have governed will acquire profit and honour, and shall remain as long as they choose, and while it may be your good pleasure, in their offices. But if those who may be appointed to examine into these matters find any thing contrary to good government, they will provide a remedy by quietly dismissing from your person those who have so  
 ted, and replacing them by others better qualified,

lified, but with your consent first had, then that of your uncles and of the prelates and barons of the realm, who will pay attention in the choice to your honour and to that of your kingdom.'

'When you shall have made this remonstrance to the king,' said the duke of Gloucester to the Londoners, 'he will give you an answer. If he should say, 'We will consider of it,' cut the matter short, and declare you will not have any delay; and press it the more to alarm him, as well as his minions. Say, boldly, that the country will not longer suffer it; and it is wonderful they have borne it so long. My brother and myself will be with the king, and also the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury and Northumberland, but say nothing should we not be present; for we are the principal personages in England, and will second you in your remonstrance, by adding, that what you require is but reasonable and just. When he shall hear us thus speak, he will not contradict us, unless he be very ill advised indeed, and will appoint a day accordingly. This is the advice and the remedy I offer you.'

The Londoners replied,—'My lord, you have loyally spoken; but it will be difficult for us to find the king and as many lords as you have named, at one time in his presence.' 'Not at all,' said the duke: 'St. George's day will be within ten days, and the king will then be at Windsor: you may be sure the duke of Ireland and sir Simon Burley will be there also. There will be many others. My brother, myself and

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the earl of Salisbury will be there. Do you come, and you will act according to circumstances.'

The Londoners promised to be at Windsor on St. George's day, and left the duke of Gloucester well pleased with their reception. When that day came, the king of England held a grand festival, as his predecessors had done before him, and, accompanied by his queen and court, went to Windsor. On the morrow, the Londoners came thither with sixty horse, and those from York and other principal towns in like numbers, and lodged themselves in the town. The king was desirous of leaving the place for another three leagues off, when he heard of the arrival of the commons of England, and still more so, when told they wanted to speak to him; for he dreaded greatly their remonstrances, and would not have heard them: but his uncles and the earl of Salisbury said,—'My lord, you cannot depart, for they are deputed hither by all your principal towns. It is proper you hear what they have to say: you will then give them your answer, or take time to consider of it.' He remained therefore, but fore against his will.

The commons were introduced to the presence, in the lower hall, without the new building, where the palace stood in former times. The king was attended by his two uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Northumberland, and several others of the nobility. The commons made their harangue to the king, by their spokesman, a citizen of London,

London, called Simon de Sudbury, a man of sense and oratory. He formed his speech from what the duke of Gloucester had said to them; and, as you have heard that, I need not take more notice of it.

The king, having heard it, replied,—‘Ye commons of England, your requests are great and important, and cannot be immediately attended to; for we shall not long remain here, nor are all our council with us: indeed the greater part are absent. I therefore bid each of you return quietly to your homes, and there peaceably remain, unless sent for, until Michaelmas, when the parliament shall be assembled at Westminster. Come thither and lay your requests before us, which we will submit to our council. What we approve shall be granted, and what we think improper refused. For think not we are to be ruled by our people. That has never been; and we can perceive nothing but what is right and just in our government, and in those who govern under us.’

Upwards of seven instantly replied to the king, and said,—‘Most redoubted lord, under your grace’s favour, your justice is weak, indeed, in the realm, and you know not what behoveth you to know; for you neither make inquiry, nor examine into what is passing; and those who are your advisers will never tell you, for the great wealth they are amassing. It is not justice, sir king, to cut off heads, wrists or feet, or any way to punish; but justice consists in the maintaining the subject in his right, and in  
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taking care he live in peace, without having any cause of complaint. We must also say that you have appointed too long a day by referring us to Michaelmas. No time can be better than the present: we, therefore, unanimously declare, that we will have an account, and very shortly too, from those who have governed your kingdom since your coronation, and know what is become of the great sums that have been raised in England for these last nine years, and whither they have passed. If those who have been your treasurers shall give a just account, or nearly so, we shall be much rejoiced, and leave them in their offices. Those who shall not produce honest acquittances for their expenditure shall be treated accordingly, by the commissioners that are to be nominated by you, and our lords your uncles.'

The king, on this, looked at his uncles to see if they would say any thing, when the duke of Gloucester said,—'That he saw nothing but what was just and reasonable in the demands they had made: what do you say, fair brother of York?' 'As God may help me, it is all true,' he replied, as did the other barons who were present; but the king wished them to give their opinions separately. 'Sir,' added the duke of Gloucester, 'it is but fair that you know how your money has been expended.' The king perceiving they were all united, and that his minions dared not utter one word, for they were overawed by the presence of the nobles, said, —'Well, I consent to it: let them be sent away;  
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for summer is now approaching, and the time for my amusement in hunting.' Then, addressing the Londoners, he added, 'Would you have the matter instantly dispatched?' 'Yes, we entreat it of you, noble king: we shall likewise beg of these lords to take part, more particularly our lords your uncles.'

The dukes replied, they would willingly undertake it, as well on the part of their lord and king, as for the country. The commons then said; 'We also wish that the reverend fathers, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester be parties.' They said, they would cheerfully do so. When this was agreed to, they nominated the lords present, such as the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, sir Reginald Cobham, sir Guy de Bryan, sir Thomas Felton, sir Matthew Gournay, and said there should be from two to four of the principal persons from each city or large town, who would represent the commons of England. All this was assented to, and the time for their meeting fixed for the week after St. George's day, to be holden at Westminster; and all the king's ministers and treasurers were ordered to attend, and give an account of their administrations to the before-named lords. The king consented to the whole, not through force, but at the solicitations and prayers of his uncles, the other lords and commons of England. It, indeed, concerned them to know how affairs had been managed, both in former times and in those of the present day. All having been amicably

cably fettled; the assembly broke up, and the lords, on leaving Windsor, returned to London, whither were summoned all collectors and receivers, from the different counties, with their receipts and acquittances, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods.

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## CHAP. L.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS CONDEMN SIR SIMON BURLEY TO BE IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET IS KILLED BY A FALL FROM HIS HORSE.—SIR WILLIAM ELMHAM IS ACQUITTED OF HAVING TAKEN MONEY FOR THE SURRENDER OF BOURBOURG AND GRAVELINES.

THE assembly of the commissioners of accounts was held at Westminster, consisting of the king's uncles, the prelates, barons and deputies from the principal towns of England. It lasted upwards of a month. Some of those who appeared before it, not producing fair or honourable accounts, were punished corporally, and by confiscation of whatever they possessed.

Sir Simon Burley was charged with defalcations to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand francs, notwithstanding he had been tutor to the king and had assisted him in the government from his earliest youth. When called upon to account for what had become of it, he cast the blame on the archbishop of York and sir William Neville, saying  
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he had never acted but with them and by their advice, and in conjunction with the king's chamberlains, sir Robert Tresilian, sir Robert Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury, sir Nicholas Bramber and others; but those, when examined, excused themselves, and flung the whole fault on him.

The duke of Ireland said to sir Simon privately; — 'I understand you are to be arrested and sent to prison until you shall pay the sum you are charged with. Do not dispute the matter, but go whither they may order: I will make your peace with the king, though they had all sworn to the contrary. You know the constable of France owes me forty thousand francs for the ransom of John of Blois, and this sum he will shortly pay: I will offer the amount to the commissioners, which for the moment will satisfy them: but the king is sovereign; he will pardon you all, for the balances must be paid to him and to none other.'

'If I did not depend,' replied sir Simon Burley; 'that you would strongly support me with the king, and assist me personally in this matter, I would cross the sea and go to the king of Bohemia. I should be well received there, and remain for a time until all this bustle were blown over.' 'I will never forsake you,' said the duke of Ireland: 'are we not companions, and equally implicated? You must ask time for repayment. I know well that you can pay when you please, in ready money, one hundred thousand francs. Do not fear death, for they will never push matters so far as that; and, before Michaelmas,

things shall have a different turn from what these lords think: let me only once have the king in my power, and I will have him, for all that he now does he is forced to. We must satisfy these cursed Londoners, and put an end to all this discontent they have raised against us and our friends.'

Sir Simon Burley put a little too much confidence in these words of the duke of Ireland, and presented himself before the commissioners, when called upon. They said,—' Sir Simon, you have been a knight who has done honour to our country, and were greatly beloved by our lord the late prince of Wales. You and the duke of Ireland have been the principal ministers of the king. We have carefully examined all your accounts that have been laid before us, and must tell you, they are neither fair nor honourable, which has displeased us for the love we bear you. We have therefore unanimously resolved that you be sent to the Tower of London, there to be confined until you shall have repaid, in this chamber, according to our orders, the sum you have received for the king and realm, and for which, from the examination of the treasurer, you have never accounted: the sum amounts to two hundred and fifty thousand francs. Now, have you any thing to say in your defence?'

Sir Simon was much disconcerted, and said,—  
' My lords, I shall willingly obey, as it is proper I should, your commands, and go whither you may please to send me. But I entreat that I may have a secretary allowed me to draw out an account

count of the great expences I have formerly been at in Germany and Bohemia, when negotiating the marriage of our king and lord. If I should have received too much, grant me, through the king's grace and yours, that I may have a reasonable time for repayment.' 'To this we agree,' replied the lords; and fir Simon Burley was then conducted to the Tower.

The accounts of fir Thomas Trivet and fir William Elmham were next examined. They were not popular with any of the barons of England, nor with the people, on account of their conduct in Flanders; for it was said no Englishman had ever made so shameful an expedition. The bishop of Norwich and the governor of Calais, who at that time was fir Hugh Calverley, had cleared themselves from any blame: but the charge laid to the two knights, of taking money for the surrender of Bourbourg and Gravelines, prevented them doing the same; and some in England wanted to have their conduct (which has been before related) construed into treason; and the knights had given security for their appearance, when called upon, to the king, his uncles and the council.

This charge was now renewed, and they were summoned before the commissioners. Sir William Elmham appeared; but fir Thomas Trivet did not come, and I will tell you the cause. The same week the summons from the commissioners was brought to his house in the north, he had mounted a young horse, to try him in the fields. This horse ran away with him over hedge and

through bushes, and at length fell into a ditch and broke the knight's neck. It was a pity, and his loss was much bewailed by the good people of England. Notwithstanding this, his heirs were forced to pay a large sum of florins to what was called the king's council; but the whole management was well known to rest with the uncles of the king and the commissioners they had nominated. For, although the duke of Gloucester was the youngest of the king's uncles, he was the most active in business that concerned the country; and the better part of the prelates, nobles and commons looked up to him.

When the composition-money of the late sir Thomas Trivet, who was killed as you have heard, was paid, the blame cast on sir William Elmham was much lightened. His former deeds in the Bordelois, Guienne and Picardy, where he had displayed much valour in support of England, pleaded for him, having behaved like a gallant knight, so that nothing could be laid to his charge but having taken money for Bourbourg and Gravelines. But he excused himself by saying,—  
 ‘ My lords, when any one is placed as we were, in respect to these two towns, it appears to me (from what I have heard sir John Chandos and sir Walter Manny, who had abundance of good sense and valour, say), that when two or three means offer, the one most profitable to ourselves, and that which can hurt our enemies the most, ought ever to be adopted. Sir Thomas Trivet and myself, finding ourselves surrounded, so that succour could no way come to us, and that we  
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should not be able long to withstand their assaults (for they were such knights and squires as few in England ever saw, and in such numbers, from the account of our herald, as to amount to sixteen thousand men at arms and forty thousand others, while we were scarcely three hundred lances, and as many archers; our town was also so extensive we could not attend to all parts of it, which we soon felt to our cost, for, while we were defending one side, it was set on fire on another)—we became very much confused, which the enemy perceived. And in truth, the king of France and his council acted handsomely by granting us a truce, for if they had on the morrow renewed their attack, in the situation we were in, they must have had us at their mercy.

‘ They honourably treated with us, through the duke of Brittany, who took much trouble on the occasion. We ought to have paid for this, but they gave us money; and, instead of being worsted by our enemies, we despoiled them. We certainly overreached them, when they paid us, and suffered us to depart safe and well, carrying away whatever we had gained by this expedition in Flanders. Besides,’ added sir William, ‘ to purge myself from all blame, should there be in England, or out of England, any knight or squire, except the persons of my lords the dukes of York and of Gloucester, who shall dare to say that I have acted disloyally towards my natural lord the king, or have been any way guilty of treason, I am ready to throw down my glove, and with my body try the event by deeds of arms, such as the judges may assign me.’

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This speech and the known valour of the knight exculpated him, and freed him from all fear of death, which he was in danger of at the beginning. He returned to his estate, and was afterwards a renowned knight, much advanced, and of the king's council.

Sir Simon Burley was still confined in the Tower, for he was mortally hated by the king's uncles and the commons of England. The king did every thing in his power to deliver him from prison, during the time he resided at Sheene: but the commissioners, being determined to oppress him, dissembled, and said they could not as yet set him at liberty, for his accounts were not closed.

The king, accompanied by the duke of Ireland, journeyed towards Wales, by way of Bristol; and wheresoever he went he was followed by the queen, and all the ladies and damsels of her court.

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## CHAP. LI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND HAVING LEFT LONDON, SIR SIMON BURLEY IS BEHEADED, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE KING AND QUEEN.—A CHANGE OF THE MINISTRY.

**A**LTHOUGH the king of England had left London, his uncles there remained with their advisers. You have often heard, that when any disorder is in the head, all the other members of the body are affected by it, and that this sickness must be purged away by some means or other.

other. I say this, because the duke of Ireland was in such favour with the king, that he managed him as he pleased, and governed him at will. Sir Simon Burley was also one of the principal advisers; and between them both they ruled, for a long time, king and kingdom.

They were suspected of having amassed very large sums of money, and it was rumoured they had sent great part of it for safety to Germany. It had also come to the knowledge of the king, his uncles, and the rulers of the principal towns in England, that great chests and trunks had been secretly embarked from Dover-castle in the night-time, which were said to contain this money sent fraudulently abroad by them to foreign countries, in consequence of which the kingdom was greatly impoverished of cash. Many grieved much at this, saying, that gold and silver were become so scarce as to occasion trade to languish. Such speeches increased the hatred to sir Simon Burley, and the commissioners declared they thought he deserved death. In short, they, on finishing his accounts, condemned him to suffer this punishment, instigated thereto by a desire to please the country, and by the archbishop of Canterbury, who related to the lords that sir Simon wanted to remove the shrine of St. Thomas from Canterbury to Dover-castle, as he said, for greater security, at the time the French invasion was expected; but it was commonly believed that he meant to seize it, and carry it out of England. Many, now he was in prison, came forward against him; and the knight was so overpowered,

powered, that nothing he could say in his defence availed him; so that he was carried forth out of the Tower, and beheaded, as a traitor, in the square before it. God have mercy on his misdeeds! Notwithstanding I thus relate his disgraceful death, which I am forced to by my determination to insert nothing but truth in this history, I was exceedingly vexed thereat, and personally much grieved; for in my youth I had found him a gentle knight, and, according to my understanding, of great good sense. Such was the unfortunate end of sir Simon Burley.

His nephew and heir, sir Richard Burley, was with the duke of Lancaster in Galicia, when this misfortune befel his uncle, and one of the most renowned in his army, after the constable; for he had once the chief command of the whole army, and instructed sir Thomas Moreaux in his office of marshal: he was likewise of the duke's council, and his principal adviser. You may suppose that, when he heard of the disgraceful death his uncle had suffered, he was mightily enraged; but, alas! this gallant knight died in his bed, in Castille, of sickness, with very many more, as I shall fully relate when arrived at that part of my history.

When king Richard, who was amusing himself in Wales, heard of the death of sir Simon Burley, he was very wroth; for he had been one of his tutors and had educated him; and he swore it should not remain unrevenged, for he had been cruelly put to death, and without the smallest plea of justice,

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The queen also bewailed his loss; for he had been the principal promoter of her marriage, and had conducted her from Germany to England. The king's council began now to be seriously alarmed, such as the duke of Ireland, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Salisbury and sir Michael de la Pole.

The archbishop of York, whose name was William Neville, brother to the lord Neville of Northumberland, was dismissed from his office of lord treasurer, which he had held a considerable time, and forbidden, by the duke of Gloucester, if he valued his life, ever again to intermeddle with the affairs of England; but he might retire to his bishoprick of York, or to any other part of his diocese, for that, of late, he had been by far too busy. He was told that, from consideration of his dignity and birth, many things had been overlooked that were highly disgraceful to him; and that the greater part of the deputies from the cities and towns were for having him degraded from the priesthood, and punished in like manner to sir Simon Burley. He soon left London, and went to reside on his archbishoprick in the north, which was worth to him about forty thousand francs a year. His whole family were much enraged, and thought his disgrace had been caused by Henry of Northumberland, though he was his relation and neighbour.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who was valiant and learned, and much in the favour of the king's uncles, succeeded to the treasurership: he was of the family of the Montagues, and the earl of Sa-

lisbury

lisbury was his uncle\*. The commissioners appointed the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Devonshire, the earl of Nottingham and the bishop of Norwich, who was called sir Henry de Spencer, the king's council; but the bishop of Winchester retained his office of chancellor, and continued near the person of the king's uncles. The most renowned of the council, after the duke of Gloucester, was sir Thomas Montague, archbishop of Canterbury; and well was he deserving of it, for the great pains he took to reform the abuses of government, and withdraw the king from the management of his minions. He spoke very frequently on this subject to the duke of York, who replied,—‘Archbishop, matters will, by degrees, turn out differently from what my nephew and the duke of Ireland imagine. But we must wait for a favourable opportunity, and not be too pressing; for what is done in haste is never well done. I agree with you, that if we had not, in time, taken up this business, the king would have been so governed, that the kingdom must have been ruined. The king of France and his council were well acquainted with our state; and for this did they make such immense preparations, to take the advantage to invade us.’

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\* This must be a mistake. In 1381 William Courtney was archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1391 Thomas Fitzallan, son of the earl of Arundel.

## CHAP. LII.

WHILE THE COUNCIL, ON THE STATE OF THE NATION, IS SITTING AT LONDON, KING RICHARD, BY THE ADVICE OF THE DUKE OF IRELAND, DETERMINES TO WAGE WAR AGAINST HIS UNCLES AND THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

IN like manner as the king's uncles and the new council of state were devising at Westminster on the means of reforming abuses in the government, and of having the king and realm under their power, the duke of Ireland and his council were plotting day and night how they could keep their places, and destroy the uncles of the king, by means which I will now explain.

When king Richard, accompanied by his queen\*, arrived at Bristol, which is a handsome and strong town, he fixed his residence in the castle. Those in Wales, and at a distance, thought he had done so to favour the duke of Ireland, who had caused it to be reported that he intended going from thence to Ireland, and to assist him with money to increase his followers, for that had been agreed on by the parliament. It had been ordered that the duke, on setting out for Ireland, where he was to remain three years, should have the command of five hundred men at arms and fifteen hundred archers, paid by England, and that money for this purpose should be

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\* So says Jean Petit, "et la rayne aveques lui."

punctually remitted to him\*. But the duke had no inclination to go thither; for, as the king was so young, he managed him as he pleased, and, should he leave him, he was afraid the king's affection would be cooled. Add to this, he was so greatly enamoured with one of the queen's damsels, called the Landgravine, that he could never quit her. She was a tolerably handsome pleasant lady, whom the queen had brought with her from Bohemia.

The duke of Ireland loved her with such ardour, that he was desirous of making her, if possible, his duchess by marriage. He took great pains to obtain a divorce from his present duchess, the daughter of the earl of Bedford, from Urban VI., whom the English and Germans acknowledged as pope. All the good people of England were much astonished and shocked at this; for the duchess was grand-daughter of the gallant king Edward and the excellent queen Philippa, being the daughter of the princess Isabella. Her uncles, the dukes of York and Gloucester, were very wroth at this insult; but, notwithstanding their hatred which he held cheap, the duke of

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\* There is a variation in the copies of the original, as Jean Petit runs thus:—"When he departed from the king and his uncles, it was agreed with him that in case he should go on this voyage, he should have, at the charge of England, five hundred men at arms and fifteen hundred archers. And it was ordered that he should abide there three years, and that he should always be well paid." This reading appears to be simpler than that of the text. See Jean Petit's edition, vol. III. p. 46.

Ireland was so smitten and blinded by his love, he was using every means to obtain a divorce, and had promised the lady he would make her his wife, if he had the king and queen's consent, and a dispensation from Rome, which the pope would not dare refuse him; for his present lady was a Clementist, and the lord de Coucy, her father, had made war in Italy for Clement, against Urban, which inclined the latter not to be overfond of him, and induced him to listen too readily to the proposals for a divorce. Thus was he urging on matters, according to his promise to the landgravine of Bohemia, and would not have any connection with his wife by legal marriage.

But this duke of Ireland had a mother living, the countess dowager of Oxford, who, so far from approving her son's conduct, greatly blamed him for his follies, saying that he would by them anger Heaven, who would one day punish him severely, when it would be too late to repent. She had the duchess home with her, and gave her as handsome an establishment as she could, so that all who loved the young lady were pleased with this conduct.

In such a situation was the kingdom of England; but, to bring its history to a conclusion, I will continue the subject from the information I then received. You have heard that the duke of Ireland kept close to the king during his residence at Bristol and in Wales, solely occupied night and day with the means of succeeding in his plans. He was assiduous in his attentions to  
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the king and queen, and to all knights and squires who waited on them at Bristol and at the hunts in that neighbourhood, to draw them over to his faction; for the king suffered him to act as he pleased.

The duke, during this period, took infinite pains in visiting all the gentlemen near to Bristol, and went frequently into Wales, where he complained to all who would listen to him, gentlemen or others, that the king's uncles, from their ambition to obtain the government, had driven from the council the most noble and wisest members, such as the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of London, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Nicholas Bramber, sir John Salisbury, sir Robert Tresilian, sir John Beauchamp and himself; that they had put to death, without any justice whatever, that valiant knight sir Simon Burley; and, if they continued to govern as they had begun, they would soon destroy all England.

He repeated this so often, and with such success, that the greater part of the knights and squires of Wales and of the adjoining countries believed him. They came to Bristol, and demanded from the king, if what the duke had told them had his approbation. The king replied, it had, and begged of them, from their affection to him, to put every confidence in the duke, for that he would avow whatever he should do; adding, that in truth his uncles were too ambitious, and that he had his fears they intended to deprive him of his crown.

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Those from Wales, who had always loved the prince of Wales, father to the king, having heard of the transactions in London, were firmly persuaded that the king and the duke of Ireland had been wronged, and demanded from the king how he wished them to act. The king answered, 'he would gladly see the Londoners, who had been the chief movers in this business, punished and brought to their senses, as well as his uncles.'

The Welshmen said, they were bounden to obey his commands, for he was their king and sovereign lord, to whom, and to none else, they owed faith and homage. They were therefore willing to go whithersoever he would order them. The king and the duke of Ireland were well satisfied with this answer; and the latter, seeing the king take up the matter as personal to himself, and eager to attack his adversaries, was extravagant in his joy, and said to the council, 'they could not act better than return to London to shew their force, and, by fair or other means, bring the citizens back to their obedience; and he also said, and always represented to the king, that whenever there were so many rulers in a kingdom it must be its ruin.'

The king said, 'that his opinion was the same, and that, if hitherto he had suffered things to be so carried, he would not any longer, but bring forward such a remedy that other countries should take example from it.'

Now, consider in your own mind if I had not good cause to say that England was, at this period,

riod, in the greatest peril of being ruined past recovery. It certainly was, from the causes you have heard; for the king was exasperated against his uncles and the principal nobility of the kingdom, and they were so likewise against him and many nobles of his party. The cities and towns were quarrelling with each other, and the prelates in mutual hatred, so that no remedy for all these evils could be looked for but from God alone.

The duke of Ireland, when he perceived he had gained the king, and the greater number of those in Bristol, Wales and the adjoining parts, proceeded to say to the king,—‘My lord, if you will appoint me your lieutenant, I will lead twelve or fifteen thousand men to London, or to Oxford, which is yours and my city, and shew my strength to these Londoners and your uncles, who have treated you with such indignity, and have put some of your council to death, and, by fair words or otherwise, reduce them to obedience.’ The king replied, he was satisfied, adding, ‘I now nominate you lieutenant-general of my kingdom, to assemble men wherever you can raise them, and to lead them whithersoever you shall think it will be most for the advantage of our realm, that all may see the whole of it to be our inheritance and right. I order you to bear our banner, guidon, standard, and other our proper habiliments of war, which we ourselves should have done, had we taken the field. I should imagine, that all conditions of men, on  
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perceiving my banners, would flock to enrol themselves under them, and would be fearful of incurring, by a contrary conduct, my displeasure.' This speech greatly rejoiced the duke of Ireland.

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### CHAP. LIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND ISSUES HIS ORDERS FOR ALL CAPABLE OF BEARING ARMS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BRISTOL TO MARCH TO LONDON.—SIR ROBERT TRESILIAN, SENT THITHER AS A SPY, IS DISCOVERED, AND BEHEADED BY COMMAND OF THE KING'S UNCLES.

THE king of England issued his summons to many great barons, knights and squires in Wales, in the country round Bristol, and on the Severn-side. Some excused themselves by sending satisfactory reasons; but others came and placed themselves under the obedience of the king, notwithstanding their conviction that it was impossible to augur any thing good from the enterprise.

While this army was collecting, the king and the duke, in a secret conference, determined to send one of their confidential friends to London, to observe what was going forward, and, if the king's uncles still remained there, to discover what they were doing. After some consideration, they could not think on a proper person

to fend on this errand; when a knight, who was cousin to the duke, and of the king's as well as of his council, called sir Robert Trefilian, stepped forth, and said to the duke,—‘I see the difficulty you have to find a trusty person to send to London: I will, from my love to you, risk the adventure. The king and the duke, well pleased with the offer, thanked him for it. Trefilian left Bristol disguised like a poor tradesman; mounted on a wretched hackney: he continued his road to London, and lodged at an inn where he was unknown; for no one could have ever imagined that one of the king's counsellors and chamberlains would have appeared in so miserable a dress.

When in London, he picked up all the news that was public, for he could not do more, respecting the king's uncles and the citizens. Having heard there was to be a meeting of the dukes and their council, at Westminster, he determined to go thither to learn secretly all he could of their proceedings. This he executed, and fixed his quarters at an ale-house right opposite the palace-gate: he chose a chamber whose window looked into the palace-yard, where he posted himself to observe all who should come to this parliament. The greater part he knew, but was not, from his disguise, known to them. He, however, remained there, at different times, so long that a squire of the duke of Gloucester saw and knew him, for he had been many times in his company. Sir Robert instantly recollected him, and withdrew  
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from the window; but the squire, having his suspicions, said, 'Surely that must be Trefilian;' and to be certain of it, he entered the ale-house, and said to the landlady, 'Dame, tell me, on your troth, who is he drinking above: is he alone or in company?' 'On my troth, sir,' she replied, 'I cannot tell you his name; but he has been here some time.'

At these words, the squire went up stairs, to know the truth, and, having saluted sir Robert, found he was right, though he dissembled by saying,—'God preserve you, master! I hope you will not take my coming amiss, for I thought you had been one of my farmers from Essex, as you are so very like him.' 'By no means,' said sir Robert: 'I am from Kent, and hold lands of sir John Holland, and wish to lay my complaints before the council against the tenants of the archbishop of Canterbury, who encroach much on my farm.' 'If you will come into the hall,' said the squire, 'I will have way made for you to lay your grievances before the lords.' 'Many thanks,' replied sir Robert: 'not at this moment, but I shall not renounce your assistance.' At these words, the squire ordered a quart of ale, which having paid for, he said, 'God be with you!' and left the ale-house. He lost no time in hastening to the council-chamber, and called to the usher to open the door. The usher, knowing him, asked his business: he said, 'he must instantly speak with the duke of Gloucester, on matters that nearly concerned him and the council.' The usher,

on this, bade him enter, which he did, and made up to the duke of Gloucester, saying, 'My lord, I bring you great news.' 'Of what?' replied the duke. 'My lord, I will tell it aloud; for it concerns not only you but all the lords present. I have seen fir Robert Trefilian, disguised like a peasant, in an ale-house close by the palace gate.' 'Trefilian!' said the duke. 'On my faith,' my lord, 'it is true; and you shall have him to dine with you, if you please.' 'I should like it much,' replied the duke; 'for he will tell us some news of his master, the duke of Ireland. Go, and secure him; but with power enough not to be in danger of failing.'

The squire, on these orders, left the council-chamber, and, having chosen four bailiffs, said to them,—'Follow me at a distance; and, as soon as you shall perceive me make you a sign to arrest a man I am in search of, lay hands on him, and take care he do not, on any account, escape from you.' The squire made for the ale-house where he had left fir Robert, and, mounting, the stair-case to the room where he was, said on entering,—'Trefilian, you are not come to this country for any good, as I imagine: my lord of Gloucester sends for you, and you must come and speak with him.'

The knight turned a deaf ear, and would have been excused, if he could, by saying, 'I am not Trefilian, but a tenant of fir John Holland.' 'That is not true,' replied the squire; 'your body is Trefilian's, though not your dress.' And, making the signal to the bailiffs, who were at  
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the door, they entered the house and arrested him, and, whether he would or not, carried him to the palace. You may believe there was a great crowd to see him; for he was well known in London, and in many parts of England.

The duke of Gloucester was much pleased, and would see him. When in his presence, the duke said; 'Trefilian, what has brought you hither? How fares my sovereign? Where does he now reside? Trefilian finding he was discovered, and that no excuses would avail, replied,—'On my faith, my lord, the king has sent me hither to learn the news: he is at Bristol, and on the banks of the Severn, where he hunts and amuses himself. 'How!' said the duke, 'you do not come dressed like an honest man, but like a spy. If you had been desirous to learn what was passing, your appearance should have been like that of a knight or a discreet person.' 'My lord,' answered Trefilian, 'if I have done wrong, I hope you will excuse me; for I have only done what I was ordered.'

'And where is your master, the duke of Ireland?'—'My lord,' said Trefilian, 'he is with the king, our lord.' The duke then added,—'We have been informed that he is collecting a large body of men, and that the king has issued his summons to that effect: whither does he mean to lead them?' 'My lord, they are intended for Ireland.'—'For Ireland!' said the duke. 'Yes, indeed, as God may help me,' answered Trefilian.

The duke mused a while, and then spoke; 'Trefilian, Trefilian, your actions are neither  
fair

fair nor honest; and you have committed a great piece of folly in coming to these parts, where you are far from being loved, as will be shortly shewn to you. You, and others of your faction, have done what has greatly displeased my brother and myself, and have ill-counselled the king, whom you have made to quarrel with his chief nobility. In addition, you have excited the principal towns against us. The day of retribution is therefore come, when you shall receive payment; for whoever acts justly receives his reward: look to your affairs, for I will neither eat nor drink until you be no more.'

This speech greatly terrified Sir Robert, (for no one likes to hear of his end) by the manner in which it was uttered. He was desirous to obtain pardon, by various excuses, and the most abject humiliation, but in vain; for the duke had received information of what was going on at Bristol, and his excuses were fruitless. Why should I make a long story? Sir Robert was delivered to the hangman, who led him out of the palace to the place of execution, where he was beheaded, and then hung by the arms to a gibbet. Thus ended Sir Robert Tresilian.

## CHAP. LIV.

WHEN THE NEWS OF THE DEATH OF SIR ROBERT TRESILIAN IS BROUGHT TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND SIR NICHOLAS BRAMBER, THEY CONFIRM THE KING IN HIS INTENTION OF MAKING WAR ON HIS UNCLES.—THE DUKE OF IRELAND, AS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, LEADS THE ARMY TO OXFORD.

**I**NTELLIGENCE was hastily carried to king Richard at Bristol, that sir Robert Tresilian had been put to a shameful death. He took it forely to heart, and swore things should not remain in the state they were; for that his uncles were conducting themselves ill, and putting to death, without the least plea of justice, his knights and servants, who had loyally served him and the prince his father, plainly shewing their intentions were to deprive him of his crown, and that such conduct touched him too nearly not to resent it.

The archbishop of York had been the chief of his council for a considerable time, and, being then with the king, said,—‘My lord, you ask counsel, and I will give it you. Your uncles behave shamefully, and want to make the world believe you have only traitors near your person, and that you take counsel from none but them. Great danger now hangs over the country; for if the commons rise, and the nobility

bility be united, much mischief will ensue. I therefore advise, that you settle all these things by force: you are now in a very populous country: issue your summons for all capable of bearing arms, gentlemen and others, to join you here; and, when they be assembled, march them under the orders of the duke of Ireland, who will gladly take the command, towards London; and let there be no other banners but those with your own arms, to shew more distinctly the business is your own. The whole country, on their line of march, will join them, and perhaps the Londoners also, who have no personal hatred to you, who have never done them any injury. All the mischief that could have been done you has already been effected by your uncles. Here is sir Nicholas Bramber, who has been frequently mayor of London, and whom you created a knight for the gallant service he performed in former times\*; consult him, for he ought to be well acquainted with the Londoners, being a fellow-citizen, and must, likewise, have some steady friends among them. You run a risk of losing your kingdom from those tumultuous and disloyal proceedings.'

The king, on this, turned to sir Nicholas Bramber, and desired him to speak. 'My lord,' said sir Nicholas, 'since you command me, I will speak my sentiments before these lords, according to the best of my judgment. In the first

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\* Alluding to his conduct at the time Wat Tyler insulted the king in Smithfield.

place, I do not believe, nor ever shall, that the majority of the Londoners are wanting in affection to our lord who is present. They greatly loved my lord, the prince his father, of happy memory; and they gave proofs of their loyalty, when the rabble of peasants rose in rebellion: for, to say the truth, had they been inclined to have joined them, there would have been an end of the king and monarchy. The uncles of the king have it now all before them, and laugh at the citizens, whom they make believe whatever they please; for there is no one to contradict them, or to shew what falsehoods they daily publish. They have put aside all the king's officers, myself in the number, and replaced them with others of their way of thinking. They have sent the king to a corner of his kingdom; and one cannot suppose any good will follow, for we are perfectly ignorant what their ultimate intentions may be. If matters continue in this state much longer, the king will be driven out of his kingdom; for they act by force, and the king by kindness. Have they not already put to death that gallant knight sir Simon Burley, who had performed such meritorious services beyond sea? and have they not, publicly, imputed to him the greatest falsehoods, which they knew to be untrue, such as, that he intended to deliver to the French the town and castle of Dover, and that for that purpose, he had caused them to assemble at Sluys and other parts of Flanders? Have they not, also, in despite to the king, disgracefully slain his knight, sir Robert Tresilian? and they will  
treat

treat the rest in the same manner the very instant they can lay hands on them: I therefore advise, that the king use rigorous measures. It is well known throughout England that he is king; that he was educated by our late valiant and good king Edward, at Westminster, who made all his subjects, great and small, swear obedience to him as their king, after his decease, which oath the king's uncles also took. It appears to many, if they dare speak out, that he is not now considered as king, nor does he keep the state or manner of a king; for he is not suffered to act as he pleases: they have only allowed him and his queen a pension, and plainly shew them, that they have not sense to govern the realm, and that their whole council is made up of traitors and evil-designing men. I say, therefore, that such conduct is not longer to be borne; and I would rather die than remain in such a state of danger, and see the king thus treated, and ruled as he is by his uncles.'

The king interrupted him by saying,—'What is now doing does not please us; and I tell you, that the advice you have given seems to me both honourable and good for us and for our realm.'

The conference now broke up; but not before the duke of Ireland was ordered, as king's lieutenant, to march, with all the force he could collect, towards London, to try the courage of the citizens, and see if, by negotiation and the greatest promises on the part of the king, he could not turn them to his faction. It was not long before the duke, with fifteen thousand men, left Bristol on his march to Oxford,

ford, where they quartered themselves, and in the country round about. They bore banners and pennons with only the arms of England, for the king would have it known it was his personal quarrel.

News was carried to the dukes of York and Gloucester, that the duke of Ireland was on his march to London with fifteen thousand men; that they were already at Oxford, and that he bore the king's own banners. It was time for them to consider how to act: they summoned all the principal leaders in London for wealth or power to a conference at Westminster, wherein they told them how the duke of Ireland was marching against them with a large force. The citizens, like persons prepared to obey the will of the king's uncles, for they were in truth all so inclined, replied,—‘Be it so, in God's name: if the duke of Ireland demand battle from us, he shall have it. We will not shut a gate for his fifteen thousand men: no, nor for twenty thousand, if he had them.’

The dukes were much contented with this answer, and instantly employed numbers of persons to assemble knights and squires from all parts, and archers from the principal towns. Those whom the dukes had summoned obeyed, as was just, for they had sworn so to do. Men came from the counties of Norwich, Kent, Southampton, from Arundel, Salisbury and the country round London. Many knights and squires came thither also, without knowing whither they were to be sent or conducted.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LV.

THE DUKE OF IRELAND SENDS THREE KNIGHTS TO LONDON TO LEARN INTELLIGENCE.—THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOCESTER TAKE THE FIELD AGAINST THE DUKE OF IRELAND AND HIS ARMY.

**I** WILL now say something of the duke of Ireland, who had fixed his quarters at Oxford. He had indeed fifteen thousand men, but the greater part had joined him more through constraint than good-will. The duke, to sound the Londoners, resolved to send thither sir Nicholas Bramber, sir Peter Gouloufre and sir Michael de la Pole: they were to enter the town by the Thames, and to hoist the king's flag, and observe how the citizens, on seeing it, would act.

These three knights, in compliance with the duke's orders, left Oxford with only thirty horse, and rode secretly to Windsor, where they lay that night. On the morrow, they crossed the Thames at the bridge of Staines, and dined in the king's palace at Shene, where they remained until late in the evening, when they departed and rode for another of the king's palaces at Kennington, nearer London, three leagues distant, where they left their horses, and, having entered boats, took advantage of the tide, and passed through London-bridge unobserved,

observed, for the watch had not any suspicions of their arrival.

They entered the Tower of London, and found the governor whom the king had appointed. From him they learnt many things relative to the king's uncles, and what was passing in London. He told them, they had run great risks in coming to him. 'How so?' said they. 'We are knights attached to the king's person, and may surely lodge ourselves in any of his castles.' 'You will not find things so,' answered the governor; 'for though this town and all within it are willing to submit themselves to the obedience of the king, they will only do so as long as he will allow himself to be governed by his uncles, and no longer. What I tell you is for your welfare; and I am bound to advise you, as far as my abilities and understanding will enable me; for I suspect that when day shall return to-morrow, if it please God, and news get abroad that there are arrived in the Tower persons on the part of the king, you will see this castle besieged by the citizens on all sides, who will not depart until they have gained admittance and have seen who are here lodged. Should they find you, they will carry you to the king's uncles, and you may guess what will be the result. I am satisfied they are so much enraged against the duke of Ireland, and the other advisers of the king, that if once they lay hold of you, you will never escape with life. Consider well what I have said, for it is all true.'

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The three knights, who thought they should do wonders, were in despair at what they heard: they held a council, and determined to remain where they were until the morrow, but in so secret a manner that none should know of their arrival. The governor loyally promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, and, in their presence, took possession of all the keys that gave admittance. When day came, the three knights held another council, on their future proceedings; and, having well considered their situation, they were afraid of waiting until it should be known they were in the Tower, for they were convinced they would be shut up in it; so that when it was dark, and the tide flowing, they embarked in a large boat, and left the Tower, without having dared to display the king's banners. They slept that night at Kennington, and on the morrow at day-break, mounted their horses and rode by Chertsey to Windsor, where they dined and lay.

The next day they arrived at Oxford, where was the duke of Ireland and his army: they told all that had passed, which you have heard; and that, although they were received into the Tower of London, they dared not abide there. The duke was mightily cast down on hearing this, and knew not what to say, nor how to act; for he was already sensible that the force he had assembled were not all of the same way of thinking, nor well affected to his cause: not knowing whether to stay where he was or return to the king, he called a council of his knights.

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The council determined, that since the king had appointed him lieutenant-general, to punish all who were in rebellion, he must keep the field; for, should he act otherwise, he would be greatly blamed, incur the indignation of the king, and prove clearly that he did not think the cause just or good; and that it would be better to risk the event, and die with honour, than shew any want of courage. He was advised to inform the king of his situation, and to be thankful he was able to keep his ground without any opposition, for none had hitherto advanced to meet him.

The duke sent messengers from Oxford to the king, to signify his situation, and to entreat he would send him more men, which he did.

When the dukes of York and Gloucester heard at London, that the duke of Ireland was at Oxford with a powerful army, they called a council to consider how to act. All the chief lords of their party were present, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many other great barons, with the whole magistracy of London. It was there resolved, (for the duke of Gloucester would have it so) instantly to prepare and take the field, and that the mayor of London should arm by constablewicks, all such as he might think capable of assisting them; for he declared he would march to meet the duke of Ireland, and fight with him wherever he should find him.

The mayor of London was himself a soldier,  
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and he only selected his men from those between twenty and forty years of age; and the lords above mentioned had at least one thousand men at arms retainers on them.

This army marched from London, and lodged at Brentford and the adjoining villages; on the next day at Colebrook, their force increasing all the way. They followed the road to Reading, to gain a passage over the Thames; for the bridges of Staines and Windfor had, by command of the duke of Ireland, been broken down, by which they had a better and more level country for their march. The duke of Ireland, hearing they were fast approaching Oxford, was much alarmed, and demanded counsel. He was advised to draw up his army in battle-array, with the king's banners displayed in front; and if it pleased God, the day would be his, for he had a good cause.

This plan was followed: the trumpets sounded to arm, and march out of Oxford, which was done, and the army drawn up with the king's banners displayed. The day was delightful, and the weather clear and pleasant.

## CHAP. LVI.

THE KING'S UNCLES GAIN A VICTORY OVER THE  
DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO SAVES HIMSELF BY  
FLIGHT WITH OTHERS OF HIS ARMY.

NEWS was brought to the duke of Glocester, who was encamped in a handsome mead along a river that falls into the Thames, three leagues from Oxford, that the duke of Ireland had taken the field, and had drawn up his force in order of battle. The duke was well pleased with this intelligence, and said he would offer him combat, but they must cross the Thames.

The trumpets sounded to dislodge, and the army was formed as if for immediate battle. They were within two leagues of the enemy, lying in ambush, until they could cross the river. The duke of Glocester sent scouts to have the fords examined, who brought word the river had not, for thirty years, been so low as it then was. The scouts after this easily crossed, and advanced to observe the position and countenance of the enemy.

On their return, they said to the duke,—  
‘My lord, God and the river are for you: it is so low, it does not reach the bellies of our horses. We have seen the army of the duke of Ireland, which is well and handsomely drawn up. We know not if the king be there in per-

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son, but his banners are; and we could not perceive any other banner than those of the king, emblazoned with the arms of England and France.' The duke replied,—' God assist us! my brother and self have a right to those arms. Let us advance, in the name of God and St. George; for I will have a nearer look at them.' His men began their march, and in higher spirits on knowing the river was so easy to be crossed. The horse passed first, and then the main body.

When the duke of Ireland was told that the king's uncles had passed the Thames with their army, and that shortly there must be a battle, he was much frightened; for he well knew, that if he were taken by the duke of Gloucester, he would not accept of any sum for his ransom, but put him instantly to a disgraceful death. He called, therefore, sir Peter Gouloufre and sir Michael de la Pole, and said to them,—' My courage certainly faileth me this day; for I dare not abide the event of a battle with the king's uncles, who, if they take me, will put me to a shameful death. How the devil could they have crossed the Thames? This is a bad omen for us.' 'What do you intend to do?' asked the two knights. 'I mean to save myself: do you the same,' added the duke, 'and the whole army, if it can.' 'Well,' replied the knights, 'let us keep on one of the wings, and we shall have two cords to our bow. We shall see how our men behave: if they do well, we will remain, for the honour of the king who has sent

us hither: if they be defeated, we can make off, and have the advantage of going whithersoever we like.'

This plan was adopted; and the duke changed his horse, for a very active one, as did also the knights. They rode round the army, shewing a good countenance, and telling the men to behave well; that they should have the day, if it pleased God and St. George, for they had the right; and the quarrel was the king's, which was to their advantage.

Thus dissembling, they got out of the crowd, and, making for a corner of the army, formed part of a wing. They had scarcely done so, when the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the other lords, were seen advancing, with banners displayed, and trumpets sounding. The king's army no sooner perceived their array than they were panic-struck, quitted their ranks, and turned their backs; for it was the general report, that the duke of Ireland and his friends had fled. All was now in disorder, every one running away for the fastest, without making the smallest defence. The duke and his knights were soon at a distance, for they were not desirous of returning to Oxford.

The duke of Gloucester on seeing the condition of the king's army, felt compassion, and would not do the ill he might; for he knew the greater part had been assembled through fear, or by the excitement of the duke of Ireland. He therefore said to his men,—‘Sirs, the day is

ours; but I forbid, under pain of death, that any of our enemies be slain unless he make a defence. If you find knights or squires, take them and bring them to me.'

This order was obeyed: few were killed except in their flight, by riding over or against each other. Sir John, called the Little Beauchamp, and Sir John Salisbury, were made prisoners in the pursuit, and brought to the duke of Gloucester, to his great pleasure.

The lords marched to Oxford, where they found the gates open; and those who could do so lodged themselves there, though much straightened. When the duke of Gloucester inquired if the duke of Ireland were taken, he was told that he had escaped. The duke remained two days at Oxford, when he gave liberty for the men at arms to return to their homes, after having thanked them for their services. He told the mayor of London and the leaders of the bands, that they might now return to London, which they cheerfully did, and thus this expedition ended.

## CHAP. LVII.

THE DUKE OF IRELAND WITH SOME OF HIS COMPANIONS ESCAPES INTO HOLLAND.--THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IS SENT BY THE DUKES OF YORK AND GLOCESTER TO TREAT WITH THE KING.—HE CONDUCTS HIM WITH HONOUR TO LONDON.

**I** WILL now say what became of the duke of Ireland, sir Peter Gouloufre and sir Michael de la Pole, on the day on which they had, like their army, saved themselves by flight. In truth, this was wisely done; for, had they been taken, they would have been put to death without mercy. I do not believe they fled to the king at Bristol: if they did, they made no long stay, but hastened out of England as quickly as they could. I heard that they rode through Carlisle to Edinburgh, where they embarked on board a vessel bound for Holland and the Texel, and landed at Dordrecht. They were much rejoiced at thus being in a place of safety; and it was told me, that the duke of Ireland had, for a long time before, made large deposits of money at Bruges, by means of the Lombards, to be prepared for every event; for though he knew his power over the king of England, he was much afraid of the nobles and the people. During his prosperity he had made very ample provision of money in Flanders and in other places.

places, where he thought he might need it. I heard, also, that the first payment of sixty thousand francs, for the ransom of John of Brittany, was waiting his orders, and the time was nearly elapsed for the receipt of the other sixty thousand francs. He had, therefore, provided himself with money for a long time.

When duke Albert of Bavaria, who was regent of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, for his brother count William, then alive, was informed that the duke of Ireland had fled from England, and had taken up his residence at Dordrecht, he mused a while, and thought it improper he should make any long stay there. He had quitted England as a fugitive; and was in the ill favour of his cousin-germans, the dukes of York and Gloucester, to whom he owed love and affection: he had, beside, behaved shamefully to his duchess, who was the daughter of his cousin, the princess Isabella of England.

In consequence, he sent to tell the duke, that since he had displeased his fair cousins of England, and had broken his marriage to connect himself with another woman, he must instantly leave his country and seek other quarters; for he would never suffer the duke of Ireland to inhabit any town of his. When he received this order, he was much alarmed lest he should be arrested and given up to his enemies, and humbled himself exceedingly to those who brought the order, saying he would cheerfully obey the duke's commands. He instantly directed

rected all his accounts to be settled and paid, and embarked on board a vessel, with attendants for Utrecht, which is a town solely dependant on its bishop, where he arrived, and tarried there until other intelligence was brought him. We will now leave him, and return to the affairs of England.

When the army of the barons had been disbanded at Oxford, I know not if the dukes of York and Gloucester and the archbishop of Canterbury did not remain there some days longer; during which time the two knights, sir John Salisbury and the little Beauchamp, were beheaded. After this execution they returned to London, where they staid some time, expecting to hear from the king; but all they learnt was that he continued in Bristol. It was determined in council, at Westminster, through the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, to send a deputation from the chief barons to the king to remonstrate with him, in an amicable manner, on his opposition to the principal persons of his kingdom, who were naturally bound to guard his honour, and for having placed his confidence in a set of minions; which conduct had nearly lost him his crown. While this was going forward in the council, sir Nicholas Bramber had been taken in Wales, and brought to London. The king's uncles were rejoiced at this, and said they should not let him wait long, but that he should suffer a similar death to his friends. Sir Nicholas, unable to offer any thing  
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to prevent his execution, was led to the usual place, without the town, and there beheaded.

He was lamented by some of the citizens, for he had, in former times, been their mayor, and had, during that time, well and honestly governed the city. He had also been of essential service to the king at the time of the peasants' rebellion, by slaying, with his own hand, Lister; which dismayed the insurgents greatly, and put them to flight; and for this the king had created him a knight. He was beheaded like the others, for having too readily put his faith in the duke of Ireland.

The king's uncles seeing that now all those of the king's council whom they hated were either dead or had quitted the country, thought it time to put the government on a stable footing; for, notwithstanding they had put to death, or banished, all who were obnoxious to them, they never intended to deprive the king of his crown, but only to reform and regulate his government more to his own and country's honour. They therefore said to the archbishop of Canterbury,—  
 ' You will go with your state to Bristol, where you will find the king, and remonstrate with him on the affairs of his realm, and the condition they are now in: recommend us to him, and say, that we entreat he will not put any belief in what he may hear to our discredit: for he has too long done so, against his own honour and profit, as well as to the hurt of the kingdom. You will likewise say, that we and the  
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good city of London beg he will return hither, where he will be received with the utmost joy; and we will agree to his having the nomination of his council in any way most agreeable to him. We charge you, however, archbishop, on no account to return without him, for those who are now attached to him will be made discontented; Tell him also, not to be angered for such traitors as were near his person, who may have been slain or driven out of the kingdom, for by them his crown was in danger of being lost.'

The archbishop promised to accomplish the matter as well as he was able, and, having soon made his preparations, set out for Bristol in grand array, such as became so reverend a prelate, and fixed his lodgings in the town. The king lived very privately, for all those who used to be with him, were either dead or banished, as you have heard. The archbishop was one whole day and two nights in the town before the king would see him, so sorely vexed was he with his uncles for having driven away the duke of Ireland, whom he loved above all mankind, and for having put to death his chamberlains and knights. At length, he was so well advised that he admitted the archbishop to his presence. On his entrance, he humbled himself much before the king, and then addressed him warmly on the subjects the dukes of York and Gloucester had charged him with. He gave him to understand, that if he did not return to London, according to the entreaties of his uncles, the citizens of London and the greater part of his subjects,

subjects, he would make them very discontented; and he remonstrated, that without the aid of his uncles, barons, prelates, knights and commons from the chief towns, he would be unable to act, or to have any compliance given to his will. This he had been charged to tell him, and likewise that he could not more rejoice his enemies, nor more effectually hurt his country, than by making war on his friends.

The young kin was inclined to listen to the arguments of the archbishop; but the insult that had been offered him, by beheading those of his council in whom he had no fault to find, was too fresh in his memory for him instantly to comply. Many plans were proposed to him: at last, by the good advice of the queen, and of the most prudent of his counsellors, who had remained with him, such as sir Richard Stenor and others, he restrained his choler, and said to the archbishop, that he would cheerfully accompany him to London. My lord of Canterbury was highly pleased on hearing this; and he gained much honour by having brought matters to so happy a conclusion. The king did not remain at Bristol long after this, but, leaving there his queen, set out with his retinue towards London, the archbishop accompanying him. On his arrival at Windsor, he stopped three whole days.

When news was brought to London that the archbishop of Canterbury had so far succeeded in his mission, that the king was on his return to the city, the whole town was rejoiced; and they

they determined to go out to meet and conduct him, in the most honourable manner, to his palace. The day on which he left Windfor, the whole road from London to Brentford was covered with people on foot and horseback. The dukes of York and Gloucester, and prince John of York, the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many barons and prelates, went, in great state, to conduct the king. They met him within two miles from Brentford, and received him most affectionately, as good subjects should their lord.

The king, who had their late proceedings still rankling in his heart, scarcely stopped when he met them, nor cast his eyes towards them. The person he talked the most to on his road was the bishop of London. On their arrival in Westminster, the king dismounted at his palace, which had been prepared for him. He there partook of wines and spices, as did his uncles, the barons, prelates and knights who were entitled to the honour. Several of them now took leave, and those who resided in London went home, but the king's uncles, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole of the council remained to keep him company, to be on better terms together, and to consult on the affairs of the nation, for they had formed their plans, and were lodged, some in the palace, and others in the abbey.

## CHAP. LVIII.

THE KING, BY THE ADVICE OF HIS UNCLES AND COUNCIL, SUMMONS THE NOBILITY AND COMMONERS OF THE REALM TO A PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER, AND TO RENEW THEIR HOMAGE TO HIM.

A SPECIAL parliament being ordered to meet at Westminster, all the barons, prelates, knights and chief citizens from the principal towns were summoned to attend, and all who held fiefs from the king. The reason for this parliament being made so general, was that the archbishop of Canterbury had remonstrated in the council, and to the king's uncles, that when they had crowned king Richard, though all who held fiefs under him had made their homage, and held their lands accordingly, he was not of a proper age legally to receive their oaths. A king by right must be twenty-one years of age before he can justly govern the kingdom, and, until that time, should be under the tutelage of his uncles, if he have any, or under those of his subjects the nearest related to him. The archbishop added, that as now the king was of the proper age, he advised, for greater security, all who held any lands under him should renew their homage, and acknowledge him for their lord.

This opinion of the archbishop was acceded  
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to by the king's uncles, and was the cause of so general a summons being sent abroad for all persons to attend this parliament. Every one having obeyed, London and Westminster were much crowded.

On the day appointed, the king heard mass royally clothed, with the crown on his head, in the chapel of the palace\*, which is very handsome and richly decorated. The archbishop of Canterbury said mass, and performed divine service. He was attentively heard, for he was an excellent preacher.

When the service was over, the king's uncles kissed him, in sign of homage, and swore faith and duty to him for ever. Then came the barons, prelates, and all who held any thing under him, and with joined hands, as was becoming vassals, swore faith and loyalty, and kissed him on the mouth. It was visible that the king kissed some heartily, others not; for, though he checked himself as much as possible, all were not in his good graces; but he dissembled, for he wished not to act contrary to his uncles. If he had possessed the power, he would not have behaved thus, but have wreaked a cruel revenge on those who had, as he thought,

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\* This chapel is at the present period the house of commons. When it was enlarged for the admission of the members from Ireland on the union, many of the paintings and other ornaments were discovered, and have been engraven and published.

so undeservedly put to death fir Simon Burley and his other knights.

The archbishop of York was summoned by the council to attend to do his homage, and purge himself from the things that had been laid to his charge; for he had always been a partisan of the duke of Ireland, and in opposition to the king's uncles. When he received this summons, knowing he was not beloved by the dukes of York or Glocester, he was fearful of the event, and therefore sent his nephew, the son of lord Neville, to make his excuses. He instantly set out for London, and, on his arrival, waited on the king first, to whom he made excuses for his uncle, and performed, as proxy, the homage of the archbishop.

The king received his excuses, for he loved this archbishop more than that of Canterbury, and bore him out before the council, otherwise he would have been heavily fined: through attention to the king, the council admitted his excuses, and he was suffered to remain in his dioçese. For a long time, however, he was afraid to reside at York, but lived at Newcastle on Tyne, near the castles of his brother Neville and cousins.

Thus were affairs in England; but the king had not, for some time, the command of his council, which was under the controul of his uncles, and the barons and prelates before named. We will now return to what was going forward in Castille and Portugal.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LIX.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL AND DUKE OF LANCASTER UNITE THEIR FORCES.—WHEN DISTRESSED TO CROSS THE RIVER DUERO, A GALICIAN SQUIRE, PRISONER OF WAR, DIRECTS THEM TO A FORD.

**I**T is right, since the matter requires it, that I now say something of the expedition of the duke of Lancaster, and how he persevered in it, this season, in Galicia. I will continue it from where I left off, as I have a great desire to complete its history.

When the duke and his army had conquered the town and castle of Orense, they halted there four days to refresh themselves, as there were plenty of provisions. On the fifth day, they departed, taking the road to Noya. They quartered themselves, for four days, in a large meadow along the river side; but the ground was already burnt up by the great heat of the sun, and the water was so bad that the horses would scarcely drink it: many that did so died. Orders were given to dislodge and return to Orense; for the marshals, sir Thomas Moreaux and sir Richard Burley, had declared the castle of Noya to be impregnable but by a long siege, with great expense of money, and many assaults.

The duke of Lancaster, likewise, when there, received intelligence of the approach of the king of Portugal and his army, consisting of three thousand spears and ten thousand service-  
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able men : so that, when the two armies should be united, something essential might be done; for the duke had with him fifteen hundred knights and squires and six thousand archers. This intelligence greatly pleased the duke: he decamped from before Noya, where he had done nothing, and returned to Orense. He sent for his duchess and ladies, declaring he would there wait the arrival of the king of Portugal.

The king of Portugal and his marshals, having taken possession of Ferrol, marched for Orense to meet the duke of Lancaster. On their road, they came to Ville-de-Padron, which, at first, shewed symptoms of rebellion, but, when the army appeared, they submitted. The king and his army remained in the town and adjoining country fifteen days, and greatly wasted its provisions, notwithstanding a sufficiency came to them from Portugal. Galicia was ruined by these two armies; and the weather was now become so exceedingly hot, that none could venture abroad, after eight o'clock in the morning, without risk of death.

While the duke and duchess of Lancaster remained in Orense, their men and horses were suffering greatly for want of forage and water: there were neither fresh grass nor green food, for the ground was too parched for any seeds to spring. The whole country was burnt up; and the English were forced to send their foragers twelve, fifteen, nay twenty leagues, for food for themselves and horses. Consider what their difficulties must have been. The knights and squires of England found  
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the wines so strong and ardent; that they affected their heads, stomachs and bowels, and they had not any remedy; for there was a great scarcity of good water to temper them with, or to cool them. Their food was contrary to what they had always been accustomed to; for in their own country they live at their ease, whilst now they were burnt with external and internal heat. The greatest lords were in the utmost poverty and distress; and such effects as were natural, followed, which I shall relate to you.

The English knights and squires, seeing their difficulties increase, from the scarcity of forage and the extreme heat of the weather, began to murmur and say,—‘Our expedition seems drawing to a poor end; for we remain too long in one place.’ ‘That is true,’ replied others; ‘and we have another thing much against us; we have brought women, who only wish to remain quiet; and for one day that they are inclined to travel, they will repose fifteen. It is this which has checked us, and will be our destruction; for if, on our landing at Corunna, we had advanced into the country, we should have succeeded in putting it under our obedience; for none would have dared to oppose us: but these long residences have encouraged our enemies, who have strengthened their strong places, and reinforced their towns and castles with men at arms from France; and have also posted them in the narrow passes, and along the rivers to guard and defend them. They will defeat us without a battle; for they

know it would be more to their advantage to decline it. This kingdom of Castille is not so pleasant a country to make war in as France, where there are plenty of large villages, a fair country, fine rivers, ponds, rich pastures, and agreeable and substantial wines for men at arms to refresh themselves with, and a sun and climate finely temperate; but here every thing is the reverse.' 'What the deuce,' said others, 'what business had the duke to bring his wife and daughters with him, since he came hither for conquest? It was quite unreasonable, for they have been a great hindrance to him. It is well known throughout all Castille, that he and his brother are the lawful heirs of the crown, in right of their wives, who were daughters of don Pedro; but, with regard to the conquest or the surrender of any towns, ladies can do but little.' This was the language held in different parts of the English army, by many knights and squires when among themselves.

They were much rejoiced on learning that the king of Portugal was near at hand; and when he was within two miles of the town, the duke of Lancaster and his knights mounted their horses, and went forth to meet him. There was much apparent joy, and the king and the duke, as well as the English and Portuguese knights, testified great pleasure at meeting. The army of Portugal was behind, under the command of six great barons of that country, namely, Ponasse d'Acunha, Vasco Martin de Merlo, the Posdich Dosnedegousse, Salvase de Merlo, sir Alleyne Pereira,

Pereira, marshal, and John Radighos de Sar. Several barons were with the king, whose escort was but three hundred spears. On their arrival at Orense, the king was lodged becoming his state, and much at his ease, and the place was full of horses. The king, duke, and lords, were five days in council, and determined to make an excursion, with the united armies, towards Medina del Campo and Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, and the largest garri-son of Frenchmen were stationed. They were puzzled how to cross the Duero, which at times is dangerous, and more so in the summer, from the melting of the snows on the mountains, than in the winter, when it is frozen, like all other small streams. Notwithstanding this difficulty, they resolved to march for Campo, in the hopes of finding a ford; and orders were issued to the armies for this effect. They were well pleased to receive them, for they had suffered very severely at Orense, and in those parts; and many had been carried off by sickness.

The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster left Orense together; but their armies were separated, because they were not acquainted, nor understood each other's language, and likewise to prevent any disputes or riots that might fall out between them; for the Portuguese are passionate, overbearing, and not easily pacified, and the English are spiteful and proud. The constables and marshals of each army, when they sent out parties to forage, ordered them to take separate routes. These

These armies, which were sufficient to combat what force the king of Castille and his allies could bring to the field, continued their march until they came to the river Duero. This was not easy to pass; for it is deep, with high banks, and full of broken rocks, except at certain bridges, which had either been destroyed, or so strongly fortified and guarded, it was not possible to attempt them with hopes of success.

While they were considering how they could cross it, it chanced that sir John Holland, the constable, sir Thomas Moreaux, and sir Richard Burley, the marshals, or their foragers, during an excursion, fell in with a squire of Galicia, called Dommage Baghor, who was riding through the country, having passed the river: he knew that all the bridges were broken down, but he was acquainted with a ford that could easily be passed on horseback or on foot, and when he saw the enemy, he had turned back, and was riding for this ford. He was made prisoner, and brought to these lords, who closely examined him as to a ford; and the constable told him, that if he would shew them a safe one, for he had heard there were such, he would not only give him his liberty, but make him a handsome present beside. The squire was not well advised, and too eager to gain his liberty and the constable's gift: he therefore said, that he would shew them a place where the whole army might cross in safety. The constable and marshals were so joyful on hearing this, that they sent to acquaint the duke with the good news. The armies

mies followed the vanguard of the constable, which had arrived at the ford. The squire entered the river as their guide; and, when they saw there was not any danger, all passed in the best manner they could.

The van, having crossed, halted on the bank to guide the main army over. Sir John Holland kept his promise with the Galician squire, by giving him his liberty and a present; and he instantly set off for Medina del Campo, where the king of Castille then was. It is a handsome and strong city in that country.

The duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal rode in company, and came to this ford, which is called Place-ferrade, where the gravel is found and firm. They crossed without difficulty, as did their armies: the rear division crossed on the morrow, and they all encamped themselves on its banks.

News was soon carried to Ruelles\*, Cateferies†, Medina del Campo, Vilalpando, St. Phagon‡, and to the other towns and castles in Castille, that the English had passed the Duero, having discovered a ford. They were much surprised, and said they must have been shewn it through treachery; for, if it had not been made known by some of the natives, they would never have found it out. There is nothing but what sooner or later is discovered, by servants or

\* Ruelles, Q.

† Cateferies, Q.

‡ St. Phagon, Q.

otherwise.

otherwise. The lords attached to the king of Castille learnt that Dommage Baghor had pointed out to them this ford: he was instantly arrested, and, having acknowledged what he had done, was condemned to death. He was carried to Vilalpando, and there beheaded.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.





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